



Daily Report

Latin America

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Cuba

Castro Moncada Barracks Anniversary Speech

Discusses Rectification, Angola

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[Speech by President Fidel Castro at rally to mark the 35th anniversary of the assault on the Moncada Barracks held in Antonio Maceo Revolution Square, Santiago de Cuba—live]

[Text] Dear Comrade Heng Samrin, secretary general of the [People's Revolutionary] Party of Kampuchea and chairman of the Cambodian Council of State; distinguished guests; comrade relatives of the fighters and dead of Moncada; comrade fighters; comrades of Santiago de Cuba, of the easternmost provinces, and of Cuba: [applause]

I have not come here to deliver a formal, grandiloquent speech, although the atmosphere and solemnity of this ceremony would seem to so require. I prefer to converse with the residents of Santiago and to ponder along with them—if it is possible to converse at a grandiose ceremony such as this.

I was trying to calculate how far away the last row is. I think that there are at least 400 or 500 meters from this podium to the last row.

In the first place, I want to say that perhaps some people may think that the commemoration of the 35th anniversary of 26 July in Santiago de Cuba is essentially the result of a historical tradition. The truth is that Santiago de Cuba, both the city and the province, earned the legitimate right of hosting this 35th anniversary. [applause]

However, let us remember something even more important: Santiago de Cuba and the eastern provinces earned the historical right to be the setting for 26 July 1953. [applause]

Time has passed. Perhaps some of us may think it has passed quickly. Many certainly cannot have a recollection of those times, because it is said that around 70 percent of the population of Santiago de Cuba is under 40 years of age. Perhaps more precise figures could show that around 60 percent are under 35. The truth is that we all come together today, the old and new generations, to mark this date. It is also true that the changes occurring since then can be clearly seen, especially the changes that have occurred since the triumph of the revolution, almost 30 years ago.

This province's population [clears throat], which stood at 570,000 when the revolution triumphed, today stands at 968,000.

The workers, who in 1958 numbered around 85,000, today number 349,000. In other words, if the population grew around 70 percent, the labor force grew more than 300 percent. The number of women working at the time of the triumph of the revolution was around 8,000. There are 120,000 women working in Santiago de Cuba Province today. The number of women employed in the economic and service sectors alone is greater than the total number of workers in the province at the triumph of the revolution. This force with tremendous potential became involved in the country's development.

The province's economy has improved. I am not going to give many figures. I will give only some to illustrate the economic changes that have taken place. There are many. People speak of successes in education, health, sports, and culture, but do not mention the economic successes of the revolution.

Let's say that around 250,000 tons of cement used to be produced in Santiago de Cuba. Today, more than 400,000 tons are produced.

What is now the Province of Santiago de Cuba refined about 1 million tons of oil. At present, it refines almost 3 million and its refining capacity is 3.7 million. The refinery produced 2,600 tons of liquid fuel, liquid gas a year. At present, it is producing 16,000. It used to produce 12,000 tons of kerosene for domestic use. Today it produces 231,000 tons.

The electricity industry had a capacity of 30,000 kilowatts. Today it has a capacity of 561,000 kilowatts. See how much this capacity to generate electricity has grown.

In agriculture, production of the main items grew. The province's citrus production was 85,000 quintals. It now produces 1.8 million quintals. Production of tubers, vegetables, and other agricultural produce has grown manyfold. Pork production grew six-fold. Poultry production grew five-fold. Egg production was 9 million. The production now is 173 million.

Construction grew. Around 800 km of paved roads were built during these years of the revolution in this province. Around 2,000 km of rural roads. You can travel by road anywhere now, fast, whether along the coast, or Guantanamo, or Mayari, Cueto, Palma, or anywhere else in the province. We still have a few kilometers to build. Big dams were built. Scores of minidams, irrigation systems. Tens and tens of thousands of new houses were built. The number of housing units in the province practically doubled during these years.

If we speak of social development, logically we must include the famous public health system. How can the successes of the revolution and public health not be recognized if no country in the world in such a short period of time has made similar progress? First of all, the budget for public health in the country was barely 20 million pesos before the triumph of the revolution.

Today the budget is 67 million pesos. In other words, the revolution does invest in public health. The public health investment in Santiago de Cuba is three times greater than what it was for the whole nation prior to the revolution.

From an original 33 health facilities, today the province has 127. Many of the current institutions did not exist. The polyclinics did not exist. There were three emergency facilities in the whole province. Today there are dozens of polyclinics.

The number of doctors in Santiago de Cuba Province was approximately 180. Today the province has 2,470 doctors, 2,470. [applause] You have to use a computer to figure out by how much the number of doctors increased. The number of stomatologists was between 5 and 15. Today there are 551 stomatologists in this province. Tell me if 5 or 15 stomatologists could care for a population of 570,000? Today there are 551 for a population 70 percent [as heard] of which is elderly. The number of nurses was 96 for the whole province. Today there are, if my memory serves me right, 4,529 nurses in Santiago de Cuba Province. [applause]

Logically, the results are evident. Life expectancy has increased by 15 to 20 years in this province. The infant mortality rate has decreased from 60 to 11.8, which was the rate for the first half of 1988. [applause] We have a better infant mortality rate than that of the capital of the United States, better than Washington's. [applause] I think that is a fact which speaks for itself. The institution of the family doctor did not exist. The institution is very recent. Today the province has 501 family doctor clinics; out of those, 283 are in the mountains.

They are in those abandoned, forgotten mountains which did not have a single kilometer of road. They are in those mountains where neighbors would go to the coast to wait for a ship to go by. They put a cemetery on the southern coast along the mountain range of the Sierra Maestra. Today there is not a single neighbor in the mountains of Santiago de Cuba Province who does not have very nearby his own family doctor. [applause] There is not a single rural area in the world, not even in the rural areas of the richest and most developed capitalist countries, where there is such attention to the basic medical care of the population. Not even the United States or any other capitalist, industrialized, or rich country has anything similar to that. Not only has there been a quantitative increase in medical services but there has also been an extraordinary qualitative increase.

We could say similar things about the educational sector. For example, prior to the revolution, the budget for education in the whole country was barely 80 million pesos. Today, just in Santiago de Cuba Province, which has less than a tenth of the country's population, there is an investment in education of 100 million pesos. This is more than what was invested in the whole country prior to the revolution. Of course, and the results are evident.

For example, there are 22 pre-university institutes just in Santiago de Cuba. This is more pre-university institutes than we had prior to the revolution. Today in Santiago de Cuba Province there are 53 polytechnic centers. This is several times more than all the ones we had in the whole country at the time of the revolution. There are new institutions, all types of schools, special schools for children who have difficulties—there are over 40 schools of this type. There are dozens of child care centers which did not exist, just as special schools did not exist. There are great schools for physical education, sports, military vocational schools. There is a great hard science school which is a true higher education institution model. University centers were multiplied. From an original number of over 1,000 university students, today the figure is over 30,000.

There must be in Santiago de Cuba Province as many teachers and professors as there were in the whole country; that number is 21,900. That, of course, is evident in the fact that in 1953—I'll go back a little further, during the Moncada Barracks assault—elementary school enrollment was not even 27 percent. Today almost 100 percent of the province's children are enrolled. They have their classrooms, schools, and teachers. This is true not only for elementary school age children but also for mid-level school-age children.

I think illiteracy was 35 or 36 percent in this province. Today, it is so rare to find an illiterate person in the province. It is so rare to find a 10- or 12-year-old child who does not know how to read and write.

It is not only unusual to find a child who does not know how to read or write, it is unusual to find a 10- or 12-year-old child who is not in fifth, sixth, or seventh grade. This is how tens of thousands of university professionals and mid-level technicians have been trained.

Considerable advancement has been made in sports. From 50... [corrects himself] 60 sports installations, we now have 382. We have gone from 50 physical education professors to more than 1,700. In the culture sector, we have established dozens of 16-mm movie theaters that did not exist in our rural areas, our towns. We now have dozens of culture houses, libraries, art centers, museums, etc.

None of this existed that 26 July 1953. None of this existed 10 years after the triumph of the revolution. We should think about this reality, not simply to feel satisfied, but to appropriately evaluate the work of the revolution and the fruits of the effort that began that morning on 26 July 1953. [applause]

Much has changed, much. That is why the pride with which the people of Santiago celebrate this anniversary is justified.

I should say something else that I was able to observe during these past few days in the city of Santiago de Cuba and in other parts of the province. I have never seen the people of Santiago so enthusiastic and happy, and I have come to this city many times. [applause] I never saw them, I repeat, I

have never seen them so enthusiastic and happy. I have never seen them so optimistic and decisive, and that is an index that is more important than all the other indexes. It is more important than the public health or education indexes and more important than anything else that has been done because it shows that those who were born after 26 July 1953, these new generations of Santiago residents, are still more enthusiastic and revolutionary than the generations that preceded them. [applause] It shows that those who were not born on 26 July 1953 were able to receive the message. They were able to assimilate the message of the revolution.

What have we seen on this date? We have seen many things, but we have seen a work that is truly extraordinary carried out by the people of Santiago de Cuba. They have risen to the height of this 35th anniversary. I don't want to say just one word to flatter the people of Santiago. I simply want to express what I feel, what I see, what I observe.

We could add that we have never seen the people of Santiago de Cuba working so much or so intensely as they have been working in honor of this occasion, and it's not just a matter of simple words, but of acts, figures, numbers. We are all truly surprised with all these words. We are all truly surprised by what the people of Santiago have recently done. Much can be observed in many areas. Some of those things, which are not of little importance, are the projects completed for 26 July.

Many figures have been given and, although there are differences, they mean the same thing. Some talk about hundreds of projects, others quote 531, and I am going to give the smallest figure: 74 projects. It all depends.

For example, among the 74 projects, a project consisting of 17 supermarkets appears as a single one in the 74 project count. Family doctor offices with doctor and nurse houses, that is, the office and the house for the doctor and nurse, appear as a single project under the 74 project figure. There are 120 family doctor and nurse house-offices. Another example is that hundreds of housing buildings have been built. Almost 6,000 housing units have been built in a year and they appear as a project in the list of 74. If anyone wanted, it could be said that 200 multiple family housing buildings were built. This is why the figure is based on how these numbers are considered—there is talk about 74, hundreds, 531, or thousands of projects. Actually, a supermarket is a project and another supermarket is a project. A family doctor house-office is another project. They are somewhat small projects but are not any kind of project. [sentence as heard] Hundreds of hours and a number of workers are needed for several months in order to build them.

Large projects such as the hospital inaugurated in Con-tramaestre, as the investments in the Hermanos Diaz oil refinery, as the big factory of medical equipment which has just been inaugurated in Santiago de Cuba, as the parenteral serum factory, very important projects such

as the industrial gas industry—development cannot be achieved without it—important hospital extension projects, as a whole, constitute truly impressive work.

We cannot forget, for example, some of the projects I visited which are important for health such as the blood bank, which is one of the two largest blood banks in the country. Also the remodeling and extension of the Saturnino Lora Hospital; the cardiovascular surgery building was inaugurated there. It has already been operating for some months now with great success. A fully equipped room for computerized axial tomography was inaugurated at the Saturnino Lora Hospital a few days ago. They have X-ray equipment which is extremely important for diagnosis of illnesses. I should say that the one the Saturnino Lora Hospital has is the most modern one in the country. Images appear with great clarity and extraordinary precision. The extracorporeal litholapaxy service was inaugurated with equipment valued at over \$2 million. If anyone wants to have an idea how much \$2 million is, I can tell you that sometimes we need bulldozers [preceding word in English] and \$2 million buys twenty 220-horsepower bulldozers. This amount is invested in the equipment to avoid traumatic surgery for many citizens who suffer from kidney stones. This is a very modern, advanced, and non-traumatic method to solve those problems. It also has a hyperbaric chamber service.

I had the satisfaction of seeing at the Saturnino Lora clinic the most modern equipment in the country, and I recalled those times that have passed when we had public hospitals where people could go with a recommendation from a politician or voter's card to secure a vote and affiliation in the next elections. Now the 968,000 residents of this province don't have to be recommended by anyone. Simply by being a compatriot and a citizen of this country and this province, one can go there and receive those services.

This would cost thousands and thousands of dollars in any capitalist country. How much does heart surgery cost, cardiovascular surgery, heart surgery, open heart surgery as it is called with extracorporeal circulation? It would cost thousands and thousands of dollars. How much would a lithotripsy cost to resolve serious renal problems? How much would a kidney transplant cost? How much would any of those services cost? How much would a plaque or a combination of plaques cost for any of those pieces of equipment I mentioned? They would cost hundreds of dollars, and all those services, compatriots of Santiago de Cuba, are at your service today. They are at the service of your wives, mothers, fathers, nephews, children. They are available to any citizen of this province. [applause]

When one sees the people work like this, when one sees a province work like this, one considers helping them, helping the people, the province. One thinks about what other things could be done to feed that fervor or, more appropriately, to respond to that constructive fervor, that creative fervor.

It would not be right to say that we were observing this phenomenon only in the province of Santiago de Cuba, but it is noticeable in this province. I mentioned 74 projects were completed, but there are also 52 projects under construction to mark the 30th anniversary of the revolution and in honor of the Fourth PCC Congress. Who doubts that the people of Santiago will win the right of hosting the Fourth PCC Congress? [applause] Who doubts this?

If the people of Santiago, if the people of Santiago [repeats himself] have been able to create this extraordinary atmosphere for 26 July, what kind of a political, moral, and revolutionary atmosphere are they capable of creating for the fourth party congress? What will they not be able to do?

See what they have accomplished. Among those projects that have been finished is the hard sciences school, the higher institute of teacher training. I think the Santiago de Cuba vocational arts school is almost completed. These are big projects and they have more plans. There are, I repeat, 52 projects under construction and an additional 104 projects in the planning stage. Some of these are bold. One of the things that is being proposed is to finish the Santiago-Pilon road, but an important part is still unfinished. We have to work hard on this. We propose to finish several dams and micro-dams and begin others. A series of industrial, social, and agricultural projects of all types are also being planned.

We must help. We must continue to help the people of Santiago de Cuba. We can't say that we only help the people of Santiago but they deserve our continued help. They deserve our continued help. [repeats himself] [applause]

I'm convinced that to help the people of Santiago more, we don't have to take anything away from anyone else. We don't plan to help the people of Santiago by taking anything away from anyone else. We plan to do this by finding additional resources, by finding additional resources [repeats himself], by promoting construction material industries, by guaranteeing this.

Yes, the construction material industry needs to be boosted. There are plenty of people in Santiago de Cuba to work in construction. There are and will be plenty of construction projects; there are and will be. [applause] We need construction material but we can produce it.

For example, the remodeling of the Santiago de Cuba cement plant needs to be speeded up in order to increase its capacity to over 600,000 tons and have the necessary cement. Rolling mills for the production of iron rods, steel for construction, are being made in Las Tunas Province. A steel plant is being completed at a fast pace in the capital to produce the raw material those Las Tunas rolling mills will need. We will have steel for construction, as much as needed.

There is a lot of sand in Santiago de Cuba Province. There is a lot of gravel, clay, and raw material. Therefore, we have to prioritize the construction material industry, because I know this is the only thing that can halt this drive, the only thing that can slow it down, and the only thing that can limit it.

During these days we have been analyzing the problems the city still has. We are aware of them. We do not ignore them. We are aware of transportation problems. They are not exclusive to the city, to the entire country, or to the capital. The causes of the difficulties have been explained over the media. They were not only subjective ones, they were fundamentally objective ones. All measures have been taken to alleviate the situation. The party has asked Havana Province and the Guanajai industry to make a special effort, to work day and night, Saturdays and Sundays, not take vacations, and postpone vacations for the building of 350 articulated buses. Some of them will be sent to Santiago de Cuba. Serious efforts are being made. [applause] The equipment and technology to produce gearboxes are being acquired. The lack of supplies helped to create this transportation problem. Measures are being taken.

We know there are water supply problems in Santiago de Cuba. These problems were caused by two factors. One of them was the severe drought we had in previous years. Fortunately, we have not had it this year. A second problem is the waste of water when there is water, because if there is no water it cannot be wasted. But let me note the following: Santiago de Cuba was supplied by the Charco Mono Dam, 6 million [cubic meters]; the Chalons Dam—someone here should know how many millions it would have, they say 1 million; Faustino [Perez] says this and he worked in this field—7 million; plus the San Juan wells. Which large dam supplied water to Santiago de Cuba? The revolution built the (Gilbert) with a capacity of 40 million. The revolution built the Carlos Manuel de Cespedes with a capacity of 200 million. It is now going to be expanded to hold 50 million more and it is going to be connected with the (Hilbert). The Parada Dam was built here. Although it is true that numerous industries and many more housing units have been built in the city, it is possible that the city has twice as much water as the amount it had around the triumph of the revolution. Water sources created by the revolution which can supply the city are at least 40 times as much as those that existed before, counting all these dams which can supply water to the city. Cota Blanda is being built now. It is also going to have some millions more and is going to be connected with the city system.

However, we can't convert the city into a bottomless barrel of drinking water. Potable water is expensive. It must be transported, sometimes from great distances. It has to be made potable. It has to be pumped and carried through networks that need to be maintained or constructed.

I think that after the capital of the Republic, the second city where we can put in water meters is the city of Santiago de Cuba. That will be the second location because we have seen

in Havana that where there are water meters, 25 percent less water is used than in areas that don't have water meters. Each citizen receives about 100 liters of water free. I don't know if it's 90 or 100 liters, but there is a charge for anything over this and it's expensive.

The capital of the Republic would be capable of consuming all the water the province needs in agriculture. We are creating new sources in Havana. We are carrying out several different types of engineering projects to increase available water by 100,000 cubic meters. However, we need to feed the population. It doesn't help the population to bathe and be very clean if they don't have any food.

In the capital we are even considering treating residual water to return it to the crops, and we will not stop until we have accomplished this. We have to recycle water. I think 100 liters is enough for any person even if he sings in the shower [laughter], even if he sings in the shower. [repeats himself] It is enough for all of a person's needs. That is why, in addition to the construction of new bridges, we should think about the appropriate repairs to the water network and its conservation. This is essential. We can have all the water we need, but we have to conserve it because it costs money. It is expensive.

Good. Some of the things we have discussed within the past few days to expand the supply of water to the city by 600 liters a second is construction work on the aqueduct to expand its capacity—the same one that brings us water from (Gilbert) and Carlos Manuel de Cespedes—because the pipes are not enough. We propose to expand, as quickly as possible, the aqueduct by approximately 15 or 16 km. How much is it, Lazo [Esterban Lazo, first party secretary of Santiago de Cuba Province]? We plan to expand the aqueduct by 18 km to make available 600 more liters of water per second. We'll have to do more later. We'll have to widen the tunnel later to carry even more water. That's not the only thing.

Studies have been accelerated for the construction of the Baconao Dam, which will be able to supply between 60 and 80 million cubic meters of water. Do you know how much 10 million cubic meters is? I'll give you an example. What is the city's population? The population is 390,000. Let's say it's 400,000. Let's assume that each of the 400,000 residents of the city consumes 100 liters of water a day. That would mean they consume 40 million liters of water a day, 40,000 cubic meters of water a day. If you multiply this by 350, you will see that for all the needs of a citizen—besides the water used at school, the hospital, or a dining room—15 million liters [unit as heard] of water is enough to provide 100 liters a day for personal use in a city of 400,000 residents. We would have to ask... [changes thought] I don't know; these figures seem correct: 400,000 times 10 is 40 million; 40 million is 40,000 cubic meters; 40 thousand times 300 is 12 million. I think the figures are correct. [laughter] They're right. Not more than 15 million cubic meters are needed. [pounds the podium with his fist] [applause]

We are talking about dams that can hold 30 million, 40 million cubic meters of water. The Baconao Dam will hold more than 80 million cubic meters of water.

We also have to save in this industry. We waste water at schools, hospitals, dining areas, restaurants, and hotels, and we have to save water there, too. If we have a good water network, if we conserve water, Santiago de Cuba will never lack water.

I can tell you that we are now organizing and have the equipment for the brigade that will begin constructing the Baconao Dam in August which will supply water to the city of Santiago de Cuba. [applause] They'll have to work hard. They begin in August and they will work double shifts.

Meanwhile, we will see how fast we build those 16 or 17 km of aqueduct that we need to bring water from there, from the west.

Baconao has the virtue that there are no agricultural areas, that the water for the city does not have to compete with the rice, plantains, vegetables, and fruit's. It does not compete with the production of food. Thus, there is no sacrifice of any kind for agriculture. A big dam will be built. We will work double shifts. We have not yet decided the completion date, but it depends on when we get the plans. A tunnel is needed and it will be built by Minfar [Ministry of the FAR], some 400 meters deep into the rock to divert the river, inasmuch as construction there is not easy. Regardless, the construction of the Baconao Dam will begin in August.

The construction of the additional dam for 600 liters per second will start in the next few days. Six hundred liters per second supply a good amount of water. It would be great if we planned on finishing the Baconao Dam for the fourth congress. However, we are not all going to make the commitment just yet. Let's plan but not commit ourselves, because we have to talk to architects, etc. But, I know that working the way people are working now, we might build the dam in 2 and 1/2 years. However, this dam is not only the dam. We have to build tunnels afterward to bring the water to Santiago. Above all, dozens of kilometers have to be built. We could finish the dam, perhaps. We have to see how much pipeline, how much work this entails. That is why we are not going to promise, but we will do everything possible to speed up the project as much as we can.

Otherwise, we will leave it for the Pan-American Games in 1991. But we will see. (Two) efforts will be made to resolve one of these problems. But there's something else. We have to make an effort in this city not only to build new housing for workers, teachers, technicians, the public.

We have around 40 neighborhoods that are classified as unhealthy in the city. These are our undisciplined neighbors from the mountains and rural areas who moved on their own to Santiago de Cuba. We must reach a gentleman's

agreement here. Approximately 29,000 people live in those 40 unhealthy neighborhoods. There is a big one that I know is called Venceremos and Bam Bam. It had yet another name given by the people. The university comrades conducted a study and found that many are workers, the immense majority are enthusiastic revolutionaries, and that they are willing to work toward a resolution of the problem. Their living standards are not bad. They have a lot of electrical appliances. They have more radios per 100 residents. Nearly 70 percent have television sets. They have a number of modern things. The problem is that they have very poor housing. They have problems with the water supply. They have to carry water in a bucket. It's a problem.

I think we can plan on making a special effort to get rid of those neighborhoods, by organizing the social minibrigades, the same system used in the capital where there are also a few dozen unhealthy neighborhoods. If there is a worker who can be released from his work center, he can work in these minibrigades. If it's a housewife, she gets involved and is paid. If it is a young person neither going to school nor working and he wants to join in, he gets paid. I propose a special effort. Let's try as hard as possible to get rid of those unhealthy neighborhoods by the fourth party congress. Notice that I say, let's try. Let's try to eliminate them. [applause]

We have to put the residents to work, but to work with the spirit of the minibrigades, as we have observed it. Eleven hours, 12 hours, 13 hours, 14 hours. Get the bricks, get the necessary equipment and construction materials, and let's resolve the problem. We must not forget that Santiago de Cuba is seismic and we cannot build just any type of housing.

All housing built here, even those tall buildings, have a special construction, as well as additional quantities of steel and concrete. We cannot build buildings here that will collapse in an earthquake. All construction must be made to survive earthquakes, big earthquakes. This is not because we have had catastrophic earthquakes throughout our history. However, the (Baltre) fault, which is one of the deepest in the world, is close to this city. It is said that subterranean earth movement is the cause of these earthquakes.

There has never been a catastrophic earthquake. We cannot rely on statistics, however. If there has never been an 7-degree earthquake, we must build buildings to survive 8- or 9-degree earthquakes. We now build dams to survive a flood as bad as Flora, that huge flood that broke all world records in 36 hours, I think. There were 2,000 millimeters of rain, that is, 2 meters of rain, at that time. It is a good thing that flood happened before the dams were built. Otherwise, I don't think anyone would have thought of building the spillways as high as they were built to prevent that danger. Today, all our dams are built to survive another Flora. [applause]

The cities and buildings in Santiago de Cuba and other cities and areas of the eastern provinces must be built to survive earthquakes. That is why I say that housing projects will require greater effort. Building those housing units will require greater effort and more material. I think we can do it, but this should not compete with plans to build housing for workers and for the rest of the population. It would be unfair for a teacher or worker in any of our industries to have to wait indefinitely for unhealthy neighborhoods to be eradicated so he can have his housing needs solved.

For example, we have seen this new Abel Santamaria neighborhood. It includes several thousand housing units. It is located in a healthy area. I think the Caonao Dam will greatly suit the new neighborhood, which will continue to grow a great deal. These are problems that we must plan to resolve.

This province has other ambitious goals. Earlier, Santiago de Cuba belonged to the old Oriente Province, where there are now five provinces. There is no doubt old Oriente was unmanageable as a single province. It was wise to multiply the province, not to divide it, as was once suggested. It was wise to make five provinces. I think giving Granma, Guantanamo, Holguin, Tunas, and Santiago de Cuba the rank of province greatly benefited the population of those provinces. Before, Santiago de Cuba was the capital city of the other cities. Today, it continues to be the moral capital of all the eastern provinces and the moral capital of the Cuban revolution. [applause]

There is no doubt, however, that the ideal is for each province to supply its own food as much as possible. For many years, this province has been greatly dependent on other provinces for its supply of tubers and vegetables. I am not going to mention the potato, which needs a soil with certain characteristics. That sort of soil is not common here in this province. Therefore, Santiago de Cuba Province can continue receiving potatoes from the western provinces, from Ciego de Avila, or from other provinces. The potato is a high-yield crop. It is relatively easy to preserve for some time. This province can receive potatoes from other provinces.

As for the rest, it is bad to depend on the supply of roots and tubers, in general, as well as vegetables from other areas. Nevertheless, there will always be some dependence. For example, Guantanamo Province has the Caujeri Valley. It is a huge natural hydroponic area. We are building dams and irrigation systems there to produce tomatoes in the summer, as well as other vegetables that are hard to harvest in the spring. From there, these vegetables will have to be sent to other provinces.

The ideal, however, is for each province to try to feed itself. Such a plan exists in this province. I think that before the revolution, this province did not produce more than 100,000 quintals of tubers. Today, it produces more than 500,000 quintals of tubers. This province

produced approximately 20,000 quintals of vegetables. Now, it produces more than 200,000 quintals. But, we must produce millions of quintals. Millions!

In this regard, the province is preparing and trying to develop a plan to irrigate 900 caballerias to produce tubers and vegetables. We must help that plan. Moreover, we are futherling a plan to increase the irrigation systems, especially the drip [goteo] system, which doubles, almost triples, plantain production. We must take this plan to the province by supplying it with the drip irrigation systems it may need for its plantain plantations. We must supply the most modern irrigation system, because it lacks abundant land. Over 60 percent of the province's areas are mountainous. The other areas are uneven terrain. There are few plains.

An important thing is that over 15,000 caballerias are used for sugarcane. We are thinking.... [changes thought] We have already transferred some sugarcane areas to tuber and vegetable production. We are going to transfer some others. However, 5,000 caballerias will continue to have sugarcane. We plan to increase yields even higher with those caballerias. We are going to try to reach 90,000 or 100,000 arrobas per caballeria with irrigation systems. We hope to have 2,000 caballerias of sugarcane with irrigation and level some land for tubers and vegetables.

We feel that with 900 caballerias irrigated for tubers and vegetables, the province can amply supply itself with all these products. In addition, the rural population, cooperatives, state farms can supply themselves with tubers and vegetables. The goal is to produce tubers and vegetables for the urban population. An ambitious program exists. We must support that program.

Our goal is to complete all pending dam construction in a short time, in 3 or 4 years. We want to build dams and minidams. We must help the province implement this program so it can irrigate sugarcane, tubers, vegetables, and some grazing lands, and increase its agricultural production. Following our experience with drought, we know agriculture cannot be secure in this province if we do not ensure irrigation for these areas.

These plans that the province has and that we propose to support are ambitious. These are truly encouraging plans. Egg production will increase. I said that 173 million eggs are produced. Sometimes, eggs must be brought from other provinces. Egg production will increase to 300 million each year. This amount is almost double current production. Poultry production will increase. Most of all, pork production will increase. Santiago de Cuba residents already have two combines or two overall pork production centers. These centers produce 4,000 tons. They are immediately going to build two more centers to reach 8,000 tons. They will basically use food and agricultural waste.

Still, we are not resigning ourselves to that. We have been coordinating actions with the Sugar Industry Ministry to complete the unfinished parts of the torula [yeast] factory at the [Julio Antonio] Mella Center to turn that factory into one that produces liquid torula. The plan will produce an additional 8,000 tons of pork. We have been discussing this matter in detail with the Sugar Industry Ministry. What is the factory's capacity? How much sugarcane syrup does it need? Where are we going to get the sugarcane syrup over and above the sugarcane syrup it produces? We discussed the possibility of adding complete [integral] sugarcane syrup to that factory without having to bring it from another site. [applause]

The comrades of the Ministries of Sugar Industry and Construction will immediately get to work to finish that torula factory. In a few weeks, as soon as the projects are there, the Agriculture Ministry will immediately get to work building at least four overall combines. We are going to work at full speed to see if we can build it before the congress, although it is not in our plans.

Let us see how much it takes, or how much an overall pork center resists the constructive spirit that Santiago de Cuba residents have today.

Therefore, with this new center, there will be six new centers altogether; 12,000 more tons of pork will be produced, and I hope we do not stop at that, because we are doing research on sacharina, a very promising sugarcane-derived fodder that has been developed by Cuban researchers. There are many things that cannot be said, that have not been completed, but they are great possibilities that could develop from the fodder made from sugarcane. That is why we must increase the sugarcane production in this province to at least 100,000 arrobas. We are going to continue producing the same amount of sugar, perhaps even more sugar. From the additional sugarcane we produce, we will produce pork, beef, and other products. As part of an immediate and specific plan, we are going to make use of the torula plant. We already know the cost of the components we still need, and I think the agricultural sector is going to have to work fast and hard in building the hog-raising centers.

There are also plans to increase milk production, although naturally we cannot think that Santiago de Cuba Province will do all that in addition to being self-sufficient in milk. We have other provinces with large areas adequate for dairy farming that we will use for these purposes. Some things have to be supplied to Santiago from other places; that is inevitable. But these agricultural plans are feasible, ambitious, and we must promote them as much as possible. You now have the great goal of the congress ahead of you to do all this.

As I said earlier, we not only see this spirit in Santiago de Cuba Province. There are very high spirits in Granma, Las Tunas, Holguin, Guantnamo, Camaguey, and Pinar del Rio Provinces. I have recently seen a similar spirit in

practically all provinces. That is why it is fair to recognize this and recognize the efforts that the provinces are making. These plans we have for Santiago must also be carried out in Guantanamo, Granma, Holguin, and Las Tunas, because the population increased the most in these eastern provinces during the years of the revolution. The population grew at a higher rate than in the other provinces, and although there were many investments, these investments were lower than the rate of growth of the population and work productivity.

In other words, the population grew at a higher rate than investments and work productivity increased. This led to a surplus of work efforts in the eastern provinces. As you see, despite a 311 percent increase in employment, there is some surplus work effort in Santiago de Cuba and other eastern provinces. However, the party has outlined the just policy of assigning priorities to investments in the eastern provinces. This has been established as a rule, as a principle: No matter how many industries have already been built in the eastern provinces, more industries will be built there. I think this effort is being carried out [applause], and in a relatively short period of time, we will not be talking about a surplus of work effort in these provinces. In some provinces, such as Cienfuegos or Camaguey, there is still a need, and great efforts are being made. Ambitious plans are being carried out.

People are aware everywhere that we are simply starting, and we already see the first results of the policy of rectification of errors and negative trends. For example, we observed in the construction workers congress recently held in the capital city a noticeable change in the mentality and spirit of the construction workers. We know that no work is eternal; we know that works must begin and end. The Santiago people gave a brilliant lesson on this during these days. I was able to observe that spirit during the meeting of the Havana Province enterprises; there were more than 1,000 enterprises. The change during the past 2 years has been very noticeable. There was a total lack of control; salaries were being threatened; there was chaos. There was a situation where accounting concepts, the concepts of cost and efficiency, started appearing everywhere. For those of us who had the privilege of participating in three meetings—the first one, 2 years ago; the second one, 1 year ago; and a third one a few days ago—we were able to observe changes that were truly deep in the mentality of the cadres; there were certain ideas truly new and necessary that referred to the need to implement the scientific techniques in the organization and direction of the enterprises.

A good perspective and an adequate idea of the workers' role is necessary for the organization and management of enterprises. Seniority should not be the main criterion for job assignments. The basic criterion should be the person's competence. Competence is what matters, and seniority should be used as a criterion only when deciding between two persons who are equally competent. [applause]

Socialism in the world and in our country—with an excess of paternalism and following old ideas and confrontations between workers and capitalists—fell into a series of poor habits and concessions that became true obstacles to the development of productive forces.

A great example of applying new ideas and of a good perspective was given in Matanzas Province during the inauguration of the country's largest thermoelectrical unit. That unit produces up to 300,000 kw.

By the traditional standards, we were short 531 workers in that unit. In accordance with the application of new ideas, the plant is working with fewer than 249 workers. The payroll was reduced by more than half. You can imagine how much we saved in transportation, cafeterias, offices, and the like. We must say that according to the traditional ideas, the big office included in the project of the thermoelectrical unit.... [changes thought] We now have an engineering school in what was going to be that big office. There are 200 students in that engineering school. You can imagine the size of that office. And we still have space for administrative workers. The problem, however, is not only to reduce the number of office workers, but also the number of workers of productive units. There is an enormous potential to increase efficiency and productivity in our productive centers. This idea must be taken not only to the productive centers, but also to the service centers. Those ideas are spreading, and they promise to promote efficient, highly productive work.

We do not want unemployed people on the streets. The day we work efficiently and well and the day we have a surplus of workers, the solution would be to reduce the number of working hours. We must be careful, however. We must not even think of that now. We should not even dream of that. On the contrary, now we have to work more. What did we tell those workers who went to the Bacanao Dam? We told them we must work day and night. We told them we must arrange two 12-hour shifts. What did we tell the comrades who are going to build the ring road? By the way, I forgot to mention that work. We are going to accelerate the construction of that road. That road will link us to the new airport, which I have not even mentioned. That project, the new Santiago de Cuba airport, which will be a kind of aircraft carrier along the coast.... [changes thought] The hole that was there is being filled in to create an international airport with a 4-km landing strip. We are building that airport. The construction of the ring road was going slowly, because we lacked some resources.

What did we tell the comrades who went to build that road? We told them to organize a contingent and work day and night, like the ones who built the road for the oil project at Cardenas Bay or like the ones who just built the road between Turiguano and Rosario Key at Ciego de Avila. A few workers built more than 20 km of road in only 15 or 16 months. They built a road over shallow waters and joined the mainland to an island more than 20 km from the coast that has great potential for tourism.

They silently began their work in March [1987], and today they sent us the news that yesterday or today, and as a tribute to the 26 July anniversary, they had joined the mainland to Rosario Key. [applause]

Today we tell our men that we must work hard and take advantage of our machines. If a bulldozer costs \$100,000, we are not accomplishing anything if we use it for only 5 or 6 hours a day. If the bulldozer costs \$100,000, we have to use it for 15 to 20 hours a day. If we treat it well and if we maintain it well, the bulldozer can take the work. We tell our comrades that we do not have too many bulldozers or excavators, so we must put the ones we have to work to the maximum. To those who are building urban highways, water works, and urban agricultural projects, we tell them we must work hard.

Perhaps one of the tragedies of the Third World countries is that they long for the consumption habits of the developed, capitalist societies. In those societies, people work for about 5, 6, or 7 hours a day.

What is a dream, an illusion. If we want to have abundant material wealth, if we want to have the things we need and the things we want to have, we must work and work hard. We must increase productivity and use all human and material resources in a rational manner. There is no other way.

Recently, I was amazed by some of the news I read in the papers. I read that Japan, the most industrialized capitalist country in the world and the capitalist country that has developed the most in the last few years, surpassed the United States, the European Community, and other industrialized powerful sectors in the world. The Japanese have an average of 6 vacation days a year. I am not proposing that Cubans have 6 days of vacation a year; we already have some bad habits that are not easy to change. I am not proposing that much. I am proposing that we work as much as is necessary during the year's working days. [applause]

If we add the month of vacation; the free Saturdays; the working Saturday, which ends up being half a free day for some; the rate of absenteeism; and the narrow perspective that exists in some industries, we discover we are not working 8, 7, or 7 and 1/2 hours a day.

Anyone who tells people or citizens a country can develop and acquire all it needs working inefficiently or working very little would be a demagogue, would be irresponsible, and would be dreaming. Obviously, with the narrow perspectives, it is sometimes very difficult to find enough work to do for 8 hours.

One of the basic issues of our process of rectification is the studies we are conducting and the ideas we have come up with. Some of those ideas have been applied in some new centers, because we do not want to create political problems. If we rigorously apply these new ideas in all centers, we would have a working force surplus. We

want to use all surplus rationally and usefully. We do not want to create traumas, because if we tell a man he is no longer necessary, even if we send him home with his entire salary, he will be traumatized. We do not wish to solve problems in that way. We do not want to solve problems by traumatizing people.

However, I say there are big possibilities for us if we can consistently put those new ideas into practice. We do not impose anything on workers; we persuade them. We tell them: This is what is good for you as a citizen; this is what is good for your country; this is what is good for your fatherland and your people. We work with persuasive methods and not through edicts [ukases]. It is easy to issue edicts, but the difficult thing is to do things through political, intelligent means.

Our methods often force us to go slowly, but it is better to go slowly, because one gets farther. If one runs, one does not get too far, or one may not get anywhere, or one may even go back.

I believe important possibilities are opening for our country, and some activities in our provinces are already confirming that. I mentioned the production assemblies of the industries located in the provincial capital cities. I can also mention the meeting of the PCC Central Committee in which the various organizations reported on their activities and the results they are obtaining from the rectification process. I can also mention the most recent meeting of the National Assembly, in which the provincial representatives reported impressive and encouraging advances.

For the time being, and although this is a very difficult year, 1987, 1988, and perhaps the next 2 or 3 years will be the most difficult years for the revolution concerning convertible foreign exchange.

Because the prices of our basic exports decreased, because the currencies from where we buy products rose in price, because droughts affected more than 1 million tons of our products, we not only had to reduce our convertible exports almost to zero, but we also had to acquire 1 million tons of sugar per year to fulfill our obligations with the socialist countries.

We have had to import 1 million tons during these years of drought. The revolution has never had so many difficulties in obtaining convertible foreign exchange. In the past, merchandise cost less and we could get credit. In the past, when droughts or other difficulties occurred, we could always solve the problem of getting convertible foreign exchange. Today, we cannot get foreign exchange and we have to pay cash for everything we buy. We have a normal trade exchange with the socialist countries. We supply them and they supply us, but we have a very serious problem obtaining convertible foreign exchange.

Despite this problem, however, there are some things that can be done. We can import less merchandise. We can save our foreign exchange. We can increase our exports. At the Central Committee meeting it was proposed that we take advantage of the May, June, and July rains to attain these goals. Now is the time to clean the sugarcane fields. We cannot talk about vacations when the fields are filled with weeds. We have asked our agricultural workers, especially those who work in sugarcane production, to render this extra effort. We have asked them to clean the sugarcane fields thoroughly during July and August. If this is done, we could gain hundreds of thousands of tons of sugar, and the country needs this sugar. The sugarcane workers have responded positively; more than 200,000 workers will clean the fields under the hot summer sun of July and August. We cannot live up in the clouds. We cannot live without facing our realities. We cannot go on vacation if it is possible to get an additional 500,000 tons of sugar by cleaning our fields. We have received an excellent response from workers.

We are achieving many things. We are achieving many more things than when our imports from capitalist countries were incredibly high. We need to develop our exports in all possible fields. We can exploit this country's wonderful resources: the sun and the sea. We have to develop tourism, and that is why we are making an extra effort in this field. International tourism is in great demand, and Cuba has much to offer in this field. You all know our beautiful beaches and nature; Baconao Park is an example. The park shows what can be done in very little time and with few resources. Baconao now has three international hotels that are producing convertible foreign exchange. Some of you may say it is a pity that you cannot go to the hotels, but we cannot have everything. We cannot have aqueducts, schools, hospitals, health, food, transportation, and everything, and also enjoy hotels. We have no other choice but to export our hotels even if they are located in Baconao. We export hotel services. Nationals will be given preference at these hotels during off-season, when there is no international tourism. The only exception would be for B firms (as heard), because some of them have no place in those keys. I say this because some people have unrealistic reactions. I have heard petit bourgeois, really petit bourgeois, opinions from persons who want to have universities, hospitals, schools, careers, jobs, transportation, recreation, art, culture—they want to have everything. They are the ones who then say: How truly sad it is that I cannot go to a hotel in my own country. They can go to these hotels.

We could also say it is a pity we cannot consume all our lobster production. We produce more than 10,000 tons of lobster, and we have to export it. We have to sell our production to the rich Japanese, French, Spaniards, Canadians, and others so they may eat lobster. We do not have any lobsters left for ourselves. Lobster is a delicious seafood, and we do have it in some restaurants. We may not have lobsters for all to eat but the price at which we sell a ton of lobster in the international market allows us to import 20 tons of powdered milk. With 20 tons of powdered milk, we are able to make 200,000 liters of milk, and with 200,000 liters of milk we are able to nourish many

children who live in the mountains, many children who did not drink milk before. [applause] many children who used to have rickets. [applause] We can say that lobster is not part of the Cuban diet, but there are no children begging in our streets. Lobster is not part of the Cuban diet, but [applause] our children do not have rickets; we do not have children starving to death. Every child in this country drinks a liter of milk daily, which is why Cuba today is one of healthiest countries in the world. [applause]

We can say: Let us export lobster, and let us guarantee milk, beans, chick-peas, and the feed needed for the chickens to produce eggs. Or we can say: Let us eat lobster and waste \$100 million, because we would not be receiving \$100 million. And then there would be no parts for anything, there would be no raw materials for medicine, there would be no surgical instruments, and there would be no X-ray equipment. Then the day that we or a loved one needs these things would be the day that the truth will hurt us, because there would be a lack of medicine or supplies for an operation. Or it will be the day that the life of a loved one is saved or his health is improved.

There are people who still do not understand. They do not understand that we have to exploit the sun and even the moon shining on us. We can freely exploit them. We do not live in either the North or the South Pole. We do not live in a cold country. We live in a warm country, especially here in Santiago de Cuba. That is wealth. Others have petroleum. They exploit and export it, and who knows where that money ends up. Many times they squander and waste it. We do not have easy wealth. We have to obtain it by working hard. It is not easy to grow sugar cane. It is not easy to produce sugar. Fortunately, we have mechanized that process. We have to work hard to earn our bread. It is hard to obtain resources from exports.

One has to compete hard in tourism, too. Tourism can be a source of employment for tens of thousands of our countrymen who have to be well-trained workers and who have to know how to treat the tourists as they should. Well, we are going to develop tourism in everything dealing with national hotels or with enterprises linked to the country's interests. In these hot months, if there are no foreign tourists, we should also use the hotels for the domestic tourists. It would be an illusion, however, to imagine that we are going to have a hotel room at each of the country's beaches for the country's 10 million people. With much realism and common sense, we are developing the campground plans, because we must turn tourism into one of the sources for importing foreign currency into the country. I think the people of Santiago must be in the frontline of this.

The traditionally hospitable Santiago must play a prominent role in tourism. Hotels are being built around Baconao. We are going to build hotels over there. [applause] Of course, there are many things that are used by the population. If we build an aquarium, all the population and the tourists will enjoy it. If we build a zoo, all the population and the tourists will enjoy it. If we

build a child and youth recreation center like the one we have in Baconao, all the children will enjoy it. Tourism development will also help the people with many things and will produce important revenue for the country.

I think this is another of the ambitious plans we must promote in Santiago de Cuba Province. I think the people understand it. The proletarian understands it. The worker understands it. The petit bourgeois does not understand it. There are still young gentlemen here who have been brought up like a petit bourgeois. That is the truth; there are some around. [applause]

We must continue making efforts in this process. I was explaining how despite that terrible shortage of foreign exchange, we are doing more things than in other years, and the economy is growing. In Santiago de Cuba it grew more than 7 percent this half of the year, and it grew in almost all provinces 4, 5 or 6 percent, despite the difficulties. But it really grew. It is not a matter of inventing figures. One does not do anything in a factory that has to produce 90 products but only produces 40 and then invents an X number of millions with the 40. Of what use is the factory if it does not produce the other products? Or what is the use of inventing an X number of millions in construction projects that are never finished? Just to sink cement, fuel, and materials in them?

The economy is growing despite last year's drought. It should continue growing. We must really manage despite those difficulties so things will increasingly get better, so we can increasingly solve more problems, and so we can better solve the problems. That is what is involved in this rectification process. It is not we alone. We all know from reading the newspapers that the other socialist countries are analyzing their history, actions, and work and that they are trying to overcome their difficulties. Socialism, despite its gigantic achievements.... [changes thought] because there has never been a historical era in which a social system has made such gigantic achievements in such a brief period.

In any human undertaking, however, there is room for criticism, analysis, and ways to overcome difficulties. A revolutionary is never satisfied and should never feel satisfied. He must always be a nonconformist.

We analyzed our difficulties, errors, and negative inclinations with great realism, clarity, and courage at our party's third congress. We began this process of rectification then. Something similar occurred in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries, in a more or less simultaneous way.

There are some who believe what is being done in other places is what we must begin to do right away. There are those who think that way. They are people who have no self-confidence. They have no confidence in their fatherland, people, or revolution. They quickly say that we must copy others. [applause]

That is the wrong attitude. That is the wrong attitude, because no two revolutionary processes are the same. No two countries are the same. No two histories are the same. No two countries have the same characteristics. Some have some kinds of problems, others have other kinds of problems. Some make some kinds of mistakes, others make others.

Similarly, if someone has a toothache, why should he look for a cure for corns? If his corns are hurting, why should he look for a cure for his toothache? Our measures are therefore not the same and cannot be the same. It would be completely wrong if we looked for the same solutions or if we were to automatically copy other countries' solutions.

I begin by saying something: This revolution was noteworthy not for being an imitator but for being a creator. [applause]

If we had followed the plans of others, we would not be meeting here today. There would not have been a 26 July. There would not have been a socialist revolution in this hemisphere. There still would not have been a socialist revolution in this hemisphere. According to conventional theory, this revolution could not have come about. That was the theory. That is what books said. That is what manuals said. Let this be understood very well: That was the theory. That is what books said. That is what manuals said.

Our situation was no worse than that in other Latin American countries. Objective conditions in Cuba, no matter how bad they were—and let me tell you, they were bad—were unlike the objective conditions of any other Latin America country.

Today, we see that a socialist revolution has not emerged in the other Latin American countries. I make an exception, but I am not placing it in the category of socialist revolutions; I place it in the category they want to be in. It is a revolution; I believe it is a true, profound revolution. This exception I am making is the Nicaraguan revolution. [applause]

According to them, they know how to do things there. They know how to tackle their problems. Daniel recently talked about the essence, nature, and socialist sense of the Nicaraguan revolution. That caused a great uproar, but he did not say anything. He only mentioned essence, nature, and sense. He did not say it was a socialist revolution.

Anyway, there has been no other socialist revolution in the rest of Latin America, and the problems I mentioned here continue.

There are some Latin American countries where more than 100 children die out of every 1,000 who are born. There are other places where this figure is 150, and even 200 in still other areas. There are very few countries

where infant mortality is less than 60 per 1,000. Prostitution, drugs, beggars, and poverty are everywhere. Rickets, malnutrition, children who do not attend school, and youths without jobs and who cannot enter a university are everywhere, and there has been no revolution.

A revolution requires many conditions. A revolution is not easy in any sense. We would still be waiting for the revolution if we had said: Let us wait for a big economic crisis, such as that during Machado's time or one worse than that. If we had waited for hunger to drive people to fight, we would still be waiting.

Based on the principles of socialism, Marxism, and Marxism-Leninism, however, we drew our own conclusions. We did not come to conclusions from pamphlets; we came to our own conclusions. We said: In Cuba, there are objective conditions for a revolution, but there are no subjective conditions for it.

Our people have special characteristics. It was possible to create the subjective conditions for the revolution because the objective conditions were present.

It was not a whim. We were thinking about the revolution even before 10 March. We would have followed the revolutionary path with or without 10 March. I am saying this because it is true. Long before 10 March I was already thinking about a real revolution. [applause]

There were a few of us thinking about a real revolution; a revolution with the people; a deep revolution; and a revolution that would one day become a socialist revolution, because we cannot conceive of any other type of revolution in our country dominated by neocolonialism, by imperialism. This was a country in which everything—the railroads, the mines, the ports, the best land, electricity, telephones, and rubber production—was all owned by foreigners. We were worse off than a colony.

Based on two currents of thought—to be more exact, based on the Marxist-Leninist thought and based on the Marti thought [applause], and based on a correct assessment of our people, their history, and their objective realities—which were not as terrible as those suffered by other countries—we reached the conclusion that the revolution was possible in our country. That is why our country, which was the last one to gain independence from Spain, was the first in this hemisphere to gain independence from Yankee imperialism. We were the first. [applause] We were the first ones with a socialist revolution.

I would like to know what some of these cheap imitators would do in circumstances such as those that we faced on 26 July. We would place them in the exact circumstances as our revolution was at the beginning to see what they would do. That is why I say the first real proof that our revolution was a creative one was that it did not follow schemes. In the construction of socialism, our revolution made many contributions and it was always loyal to Marxist-Leninist principles. The work-study principle

was proclaimed by Marti and Marx when the history of the British working class began and when children were exploited. Children were a productive force. Marx conceived the idea that in a socialist society there should be work-study. Marti, once he knew about our people's idiosyncrasies, said the same thing.

Our country was the first in the world to put those principles into practice on a wide scale, and today we see this in the conduct of our youth. It is not by chance that these new generations have the revolutionary qualities we see in them. For over 20 years, entire generations and all those young 35-year-olds at some time or another participated in work-study programs. For this reason, when they are called to work, they are volunteers. They are not scared.

The powerful mass organizations were created by our revolution. The defense committees and the women's federation—not as a top-level committee, but as a rank and file organization—were a creation of the revolution. [applause] The peasants organizations—and I am not speaking about something that already existed, which were labor unions—and the mass organizations created by our revolution were used by other revolutions as examples.

Many Third World countries waging revolutions today have defense committees. The way in which our country carried out agrarian reform is different from the way in which other socialist countries carried out their agrarian reforms. The other socialist countries divided the land, but we did not divide the land. Ah! If we had divided the large cattle and sugarcane properties into smaller estates, today we would not be supplying calories to 40 million people in the world. In the form of sugar, we export sufficient calories for 40 million people in the world.

We maintained those farms as big production enterprises. We gave land to the peasants who already worked the land, whether they were small tract farmers, tenant farmers, squatters. We told them: Here, take your land. We did not later force them to form cooperatives. We have taken 30 years; we have done things gradually, based on a strict principle of willingness. Not a single peasant in Cuba can say he was forced to join a cooperative. There cannot be a single one. Nevertheless, more than two-thirds of them have joined cooperatives; they are advancing, they are progressing. In our country, 80 percent of the land already is included in state farms that have their own self-supporting collectives. Cooperatives also produce enough for their own consumption. They represent different ways of doing things.

Our revolution cannot be denied by anyone. It has maintained itself with a tremendous ideological strength, because here who can defend us? If imperialism attacks us, who is going to defend the island? Nobody will come from abroad to defend our island; we will defend our island. [applause] It is not that no one wants to defend the island. It is that no one can, because this socialist revolution is not just a few kilometers away from the USSR. This socialist revolution is 10,000 km [as heard] from the USSR.

If there were a crisis in the revolutionary process in Cuba, who would save it? Is imperialism going to come to save the revolutionary process? If the revolutionary process in Cuba weakens, who will save it? That is why everything we do has an exceptional importance. It is not that we want to be more virtuous than anyone else, or more pure than anyone else. We are 90 miles from the most powerful empire of the world, and 10,000 miles [as heard] from the socialist countries. We are 2 millimeters [as heard] from the empire here at the Guantanamo Naval Base, and that is why the empire tries to ideologically weaken the revolution. That is why it wages so strong a campaign, releases so much propaganda, and tries to sow distrust and doubt; it tries to divide, to weaken the revolution to swallow it later, like a ripe apple.

This ripe apple theory has already been mentioned in other centuries. The United States has not been able to do it, in spite of all its plans and conspiracies. It is trying to undermine us, and that is why I feel such contempt for those who have a stout heart but a weak mind and little will power, and who allow themselves to be cheated and carried away by illusions. They are not able to understand these facts. I think that our country has made a great and extraordinary achievement by building socialism here under these geographical conditions. That is why we must watch over the ideological purity of the revolution, the ideological integrity of the revolution. [applause] That is why we cannot use any methods that reek of capitalism. This is essential for the survival of the revolution.

For that reason, we must closely follow Marxist-Leninist principles and Jose Marti's principles. We must follow those principles. We must neither play nor flirt with capitalist things. We believe in socialism; we deeply believe in socialism. [applause] We believe in socialism because it transformed our fatherland. Socialism transformed our lives and it promises a lot more.

If we can talk about housing projects, water problems, unhealthy neighborhoods, food, etc, it is because we are the owners of our own country. Socialism made us owners of our country. Socialism made us owners of our land, sugar mills, factories, and mines. Socialism made us owners of everything. Thanks to socialism, we can say we are going to work and do this and that. Could that happen in a Yankee neocolony, or in a capitalist society, or in a caricature of a capitalist society, which this country was?

We believe in socialism. Therefore, we must be very careful with its interpretation and application. We must be very careful in every step we make. The revolution has always been like this. The revolution is soon going to celebrate its 30th anniversary and it is healthy, strong, and splendid. [applause] And only 90 miles from the United States.

That is why each country must develop its own methods according to its history and specific experiences. We respect each country's individual methods. We greatly respect them. We are happy for the efforts made by the socialist

countries to overcome difficulties and problems that appeared throughout history. There are, however, many problems that appeared in other countries but not in ours.

Our problems are different. They are different because we did not copy other countries; we are creators and not mere imitators. Sometimes, I have even criticized our attitude, because we were so determined to apply our interpretations that we did not take advantage of the positive experiences of the socialist countries. Sometimes, however, we copied the negative experiences of the socialist countries. That is the truth.

Now, we will continue looking for our own path and our own way. We will continue to pay attention to anything that any socialist country does that could be useful for us. We will continue to refuse to subserviently copy prescriptions for illnesses that we do not have.

Obviously, we not only want but need the socialist countries to succeed in their efforts to overcome their difficulties. I trust they will succeed. I am not pessimistic at all. I have great confidence in socialism. I believe all of us [are confident] because we have reasons to believe in socialism. We believe socialism has done extraordinary things. What the Soviet Union and the Soviet people did is unprecedented: the October Revolution, the resistance to the wide-scale invasion by all capitalist countries after the war, the resistance against fascism, the 20 million lives the Soviet Union surrendered to save socialism. That is unprecedented. A country that had recently been built was destroyed and the Soviet people rebuilt it. The Soviet Union achieved parity in nuclear weapons. That is an incredible achievement. The Soviet Union has spaceships that are traveling through space toward the moons of Mars right now. We know about all about the Soviet Union's successes. It can achieve even more, that is true. We must try to attain more, that is true too, but we will not deny and will never allow people to deny the gigantic achievements of socialism.

I mention this because based on the self-criticism of the socialist countries and the Soviet Union, the imperialists are trying to discredit all the achievements of socialism. They are trying to take away historical achievements and demoralize socialism.

If somebody asks me, I can tell what their [the imperialists'] defects are, but I have no right to talk about that. I have thought of those defects on many occasions, but I have no right to mention them, because each person must analyze and solve his or her own problems.

I can tell which group has problems or even which socialist group is technologically behind, but I can also mention many good and marvelous things about socialist technology and equipment. We have produced thousands of sugar combines thanks to the cooperation of the Soviet Union. We reduced the number of sugarcane cutters from 350,000 to 70,000. [applause]

Of course, we can improve these machines, and we are trying to improve them. We could make them more productive, and we are trying to do this. We could have hydraulic, rather than mechanical, mechanisms. We have tried all this. We are now in the second generation, and soon we will be in the third generation, and we will eventually have excellent machines, starting with the factories and equipment supplied by the USSR.

Our country produces sugar tandems [preceding word in English]. It produces almost 60 percent of the sugar tandems at our mechanical industries, which are supplied by the USSR. Our country has increased the productive capacity of this refinery [not further identified] to 3.7 million tons and it is recycling fuel and lubricants with Soviet technology. It produces lubricants, oil, and naphtha, and it will produce 180,000 tons of high-quality asphalt, which will be used to pave 2,000 km of highways a year; all of this with socialist technology. There is Rente, the former Rente plant, now the Antonio Maceo thermoelectric plant, which has Soviet equipment. It can produce 500,000 kw, in addition to the former plant and the expansion that was done previously. The units are there. Thanks to them we have power and light.

It is not only thanks to this, but also thanks to our trade with the USSR, and thanks to the oil that the USSR provides and that we pay for with the fair prices that we receive for our sugar, nickel, and other products. In other words, our trade is not unequal. I think the USSR has won historical merit for this.

Cuba's largest textile factory has Soviet machinery. And in Ariguanabo, we also have a second factory, modernized with Soviet machinery. Practically all the tractors that are used to work our land, a large number of the vehicles in which our merchandise and raw material is carried, and a large portion of our construction equipment are Soviet. Our weapons, with which we have defended this country, are Soviet weapons. [applause]

The surface-to-air missiles, the efficient modern anti-aircraft weapons, the MIG-23 airplanes, and the T-55 and T-62 tanks that have gloriously completed their internationalist mission in Angola are Soviet weapons. [applause]

We are confronted with Mirages from the Western capitalist world. We are confronted with modern military technology, but the Soviet weapons are in the hands of the Mambises [Cuban insurrectionists who fought against Spanish domination] of our era, showing that it is possible to have better weapons than the imperialists.

I say this because the imperialists are trying to take advantage of the process of criticism and self-criticism that is being carried out in the socialist countries and are trying to present a picture of demoralization. Many capitalists feel the socialists have no choice but to adopt methods, styles, even incentives, and certain capitalist idiosyncrasies. They have these illusions of fishing in troubled waters. They are even trying to use the fact that

we do not do things exactly like the Soviets as a method of intrigue in an attempt to divide us. Of course, it would be to their advantage to cause dissension, or a breach between the Soviets and the Cubans. However, there has never been more communication between us. Our communications with the CPSU leadership are excellent. We understand each other perfectly. We speak a frank and clear language, and we have never thought that we simply have to copy what the Soviets do. Nor has it occurred to the Soviet leaders to think that we have to copy what they are doing. That is clear.

This takes us back to the basic point. Each person should have the right to do what is most advantageous. I hope socialist countries will be able to correct any mistakes they may make during this process, because it is almost certain that they will make mistakes. I trust that they will try to correct the mistakes they make. We should be able not only to correct our negative tendencies but to correct the mistakes we may make during the rectification process. I can tell the imperialists and their theoreticians that Cuba will never adopt capitalist methods, styles, philosophies, or idiosyncrasies. [applause] This is what I believe.

Capitalism has made technological and organizational achievements. There are some technological aspects and some organizational experiences from which we could benefit, but nothing more. These [Cuban ideology and imperialism] are diametrically opposed by definition and essence, and I am proud of the ideological purity and strength of the country that has confronted imperialism. Cuba has not only confronted imperialism; hundreds of thousands of its sons have fulfilled international missions. It is a country in which one can simply raise one's hand, and if 10,000 teachers for Nicaragua are needed, 10,000 teachers for Nicaragua appear. [applause] If needed, doctors go; when called upon, there are always 10 times more fighters than needed to fulfill a mission.

Therefore, on this 35th anniversary, we must remember our location, we must remember that we are not in the Black Sea but in the Caribbean, not 90 miles from Odessa but 90 miles from Miami, with part of our own territory occupied by the imperialists. We must remember that our people are responsible for our country, and our party is responsible for our country, its policies, philosophy, and defense. Our party knows it cannot make mistakes that will weaken it ideologically; therefore, during the rectification process, the party's role must not be weakened; it must be strengthened. The party is increasingly essential to the rectification process and its authority must not be weakened. Without the party there would be no social revolution, socialism could not possibly be built. And I must say here once and for all that we do not need more than the party—just as Marti did not need more than the party—to carry out the struggle for Cuba's independence. [applause]

Lenin, likewise, did not need more than the party to carry out the October Revolution. Those who believe that we are going to allow small parties to organize counterrevolutionaries, pro-Yankees, and the bourgeoisie in Cuba

should not entertain any such hope. No! There is only one party here, the party of our proletarians, peasants, students, workers, and our entire people. [applause] This is the party we have and will have. I hope that when we celebrate the 70th anniversary and the centennial, history will prove that we do not need capitalist political formulas. They are complete garbage, they are worthless, they constitute unending political deceit.

In the past, votes were bought in exchange for medical attention. This no longer happens.

We have created—because we do not copy from others—our own method of organizing the people's power. As you know—because you practice it—candidates for district delegates [delegados de circunscripcion] are not proposed by the party, but by the people in open assemblies held within each district, where they are freely elected by the people, who can elect a maximum of eight and a minimum of two candidates. If one does not obtain 50 percent of the votes, a second election is required. I can vouch for that, as not once have I managed to avoid a second round of elections within my district. We know that. We know the party does not handpick or propose candidates. The people do. The district delegates who comprise the Municipal Assembly are the ones who create the provincial assemblies. Those delegates, who represent the people, who were proposed and elected by the people, make up the National Assembly of the People's Government. Absolutely no rectifications are necessary. [applause]

We have a highly democratic system, which is much more democratic than all those bourgeois systems practiced by the millionaires. Plutocracy is generally what really governs in those countries. We have nothing to learn from them, and we will not change our path, in which power comes from the people. You know that our party emerged from the people—it did not fall from heaven—and that our activists are chosen from the best representatives of our youth and our workers.

That was also an innovation, something absolutely new in the history of our party, which has always made admission to the party conditional upon the will, criteria, and support of the masses. That is why our party is so identified with the masses. [applause]

I know there are millions of extraordinary men and women outside of the party, even Communists. I cannot say that all the people are in the party, because the party must be selective. That selection is necessary because there must be a vanguard. You know very well what it means to be an activist in the party. It means you must be first in everything. Whenever there is a difficult task, an internationalist mission, a sacrifice, a risk, the party's activists must come forward. Ours is not a party for the privileged, but a party that has emerged from the people, whose activists must be an example for others. Those who are not good examples are expelled from the party. [applause]

As I said, the party will become stronger as a result of this process of rectification. I repeat: Socialism cannot be built without the party. What can be built without a party? That would be chaotic. Capitalism can be built without a party. The results are chaotic: There is no need for organization, as it organizes itself, with all its nonsense. However, socialism is not the result of spontaneity. Socialism must be built, and the party is the main tool in building socialism.

Another essential point in our rectification process: We will not reduce the importance of development plans and projects. We are convinced of and have a clear idea of the importance of development plans. We are aware of that. We must draft the best plans. However, that is not all. We must prevent plans from becoming a straightjacket. Therefore, in addition to being good planners, we must also create the necessary conditions to provide immediate solutions to new problems and situations, and produce new possibilities.

For example, with the outbreak of the dengue epidemic, we could not wait for the next 5-year plan in order to acquire the necessary equipment to fight the disease. We had to take immediate action, within 24 hours. They had to be brought by plane; we had to make telephone calls and transport the equipment by plane. We had to obtain it from any source; if we could not get it from a socialist country, we had to get it from Japan, from the FRG, or from any available source.

The country must have a certain amount of reserves at all times to solve new problems and to meet new situations quickly, immediately. This means we must improve our ideas about economic development, but our development plans and projects must be in accordance with socialism. We will not let this concept weaken. This is clear. You understand it. We have discussed success in Santiago de Cuba Province. I ask myself and you: Would this success have been possible without the party's work? [crowd shouts: "No!"] Those hundreds of projects, a miracle, would have been impossible without the party. The administration alone, the state alone, could not have solved this problem, could not have worked a miracle. This was a political miracle.

The party is not trying to take the place of the administration. Quite the contrary, the party is trying to strengthen it. The party is not trying to weaken the state, but to strengthen it so the state can do its part. But the administration cannot perform political tasks; it cannot mobilize and organize the masses. The state cannot perform political and ideological tasks, like organizing and mobilizing the people, and directing the mass organizations. Only the party can do these things. I ask myself if this tremendous success that Santiago residents are proud of today would have been possible without the party leadership. Would this success have been possible without the persistent, constant, vigorous, intelligent

effort in close cooperation with the people of Comrade Lazo [Esteban Lazo, first party secretary of Santiago de Cuba Province]? [crowd shouts: "No!"] [applause]

We know the role that the party and the party cadres play and the importance of the relationship between the party and the masses and between the leaders and the masses. We have a good example of this here. Look at this event. Is it possible to hold an event like this anywhere else? I do not mean the size of this crowd. I mean their attention, their education, their spirit, and their discipline. [applause] These are the fruits of the revolution. This is the result of our party's work. Regardless of the nature of our mistakes, against which we are honestly and courageously struggling, and weaknesses, which we will persistently and vigorously struggle to overcome, I invited you to think and talk about these topics. This is the most important thing we can say.

There is something else to talk about. It is inevitable. I understood this the day of the ceremony in Contramaestre when people there asked me about Angola, about the situation there. That is why I am going to use a small part of my speech to talk about this issue.

You must understand that I have to be very careful. We must try not to offend any sensitivities because we are in a negotiations process. You have to be careful with everything you say during a negotiations process. In this process, you commit yourself not to divulge the steps that are being taken. We do not want to do anything that might violate this commitment.

A difficult, critical situation was created in Angola last year. I am not going to explain the factors that determined this situation. Better that history take care of that. I believe that history one day will tell everything: what mistakes were made and why. I will only say that Cuba had no responsibility for those mistakes. However, a difficult, complex, critical situation was created as a consequence of a great military escalation by South Africa, which intervened as a result of an offensive by the Angolan forces in the southeast of the country, in a remote region of the country's southeast, against the forces fighting the Government of Angola, against the forces of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola].

A powerful Angolan force gathered there, in an area far from the extreme end of the strategic line being defended by Cuba, being defended by our troops. As a result of this Angolan military operation, the South Africans intervened with their tanks, artillery, and planes. There were also forces from Namibia along with those of UNITA. They created a difficult situation. They caused setbacks to the Angolan forces, which had been left without food, fuel, and ammunition south of the Longa River. The withdrawal began then. That was the second time the South Africans' open intervention had occurred; the first

was in 1985. However, in 1985 they repulsed the Angolan offensive on Angolan territory. Remember all this is taking place on Angolan territory. South Africa's military operations take place on Angolan territory.

This time they chased the Angolan forces and surrounded them in Cuito Cuanavale. There were thousands and thousands of men of the best Angolan units. There was the danger that these troops would be annihilated. This would have meant a disaster for Angola. It would have meant the chance to destroy Angola's independence and revolution. The Angolans requested our aid. This aid was imperative, it was imperative. [repeats himself] Otherwise, the effort of many years would have been lost. The aid had to be given.

Besides, this aid was absolutely necessary not only to get Angola out of a difficult situation but also for the security of our own troops. We concluded that if South Africa was allowed to carry out its operation to annihilate the Angolan troops, the situation could turn dangerous, including for our own troops. That is why, without any hesitation, the PCC leadership decided to help the Angolan solve their situation.

However, this was impossible without reinforcement. The troops that had been in Angola for years were not sufficient to protect a long strategic line and also to solve the situation, help to solve the situation in Cuito Cuanavale. That is why it was necessary to reinforce the troops. But, you cannot take half measures with this type of action. We had to send whatever troops were necessary to Angola to solve the situation. The reinforcements could not be small. They had to be sufficient to solve the situation.

The South African enemy had possessed superior forces, a favorable correlation of forces, for years. It was necessary to change that correlation of forces. Our people again saw themselves obliged to carry out a feat. And they did. I say our people, because our people are our weapons. Our people are the soul and the strength of our FAR. [applause] It was really impressive to see the way that the fighters responded, the reserves, the units. It was impressive even when we have been engaged for many years in the fulfillment of this mission. It was truly admirable. It is something that does not depend on technology, resources, money, or anything else. It depends on the human factor. And the human factor was decisive.

You have just seen a documentary that explains many things about this. That is why I need not talk about it too long.

Of course, some principles were followed: to be strong, and to be sufficiently strong to avoid defeat; choose the scene of the action, not one suitable to the enemy but one suitable to our own forces. The South Africans had chosen Cuito Cuanavale, a remote place where supplies and logistics were made very difficult. They had chosen this field. We had to prepare another strategy. It was

necessary to accept the challenge of Cuito to stop them, to contain them in Cuito. It was necessary to go into Cuito in support of the Angolan forces.

Side by side with the Angolans we waged the historic battle of Cuito Cuanavale in which the enemy was contained. The enemy really dashed itself against the Angolan-Cuban resistance. It was a historic battle of great importance. Perhaps one day it will be written about and talked about. But, the essence of the Cuban-Angolan strategy was the advance in the western region of the southern front toward the south. In this way, the Angolan and Cuban forces advanced unchecked more than 250 km toward the border with Namibia, creating a new situation.

None of those movements could have been carried out safely, in Cuito or to the south of the western part of the front, without the reinforcements sent from Cuba. They were essential. A potent, powerful force was created in such a way that the correlation of forces changed in southern Angola. It changed in our favor.

I must say that Cuito Cuanavale.... [interrupted by applause] Both in Cuito Cuanavale and in the western part of the southern front, the Angolan soldiers, so used to our company, so close to us, performed in an exemplary manner, a heroic manner, an extraordinary manner. [applause]

This changed the military situation totally. In advancing more than 200 km, our armored units, with strong air support, were moving away from our air bases. It was necessary to build an air base at full speed. And I can say here with satisfaction that if there is a place in the world where a bigger effort has been made than the one we have seen here in our own country in the past few days, it is there, in Cama. In a matter of weeks, they built a 3,500-meter airstrip. And since one airstrip was not sufficient for our forces, a second airstrip was built in a few more weeks. [applause] With concrete and all. With the parts that had to be in concrete and in asphalt. With all the hangars for the airplanes and all facilities required.

Yesterday, the military command in the southern front sent us a telegram informing us that in honor of 26 July they had already finished the second airstrip. [applause]

So, there were not only military feats, but also construction feats. Our powerful units, reinforced with air means, with air support, were taking all the necessary measures to fortify our defenses and prevent any surprise, any enemy attack by sea [corrects himself] I mean, by air or land.

Thus our troops advanced, the Angolan-Cuban troops, close to the Namibian border. Truly experienced, powerful units have concentrated there, units with very high morale.

However, our objective was not a military victory, humiliating and destructive to our adversary. If necessary, we had to be ready to wage that battle, and to do so

in conditions of full success and victory, which are the conditions that were given there. But we did not seek military glory nor military victory. We sought a political solution, a fair solution to the conflict. That was the basic objective. That is why the chance for negotiations was not rejected. The alternatives for a negotiated political solution were not rejected. We worked seriously and responsibly to make the most of any possibility for a situation of this sort.

It was necessary to act with a great deal of equanimity and serenity, because when such powerful forces come together, the leaders, the people in charge, more than ever before, must be level-headed, cool. That is why we worked in the diplomatic arena as well to reach our objective without bloodshed. In itself, it was an extraordinary achievement to have reached that objective at such a distance with a minimum of casualties. A real feat in the political and military arena. It was truly impressive to see the precision and effectiveness which our forces advanced in the southern front, in the same way that they thwarted the enemy action in Cuito Cuanavale.

It was necessary to take risks, and we did. But we are really at the threshold of a political solution. Considerable progress has been made. The people have received rather extensive reports on the military situation through the documentary and through the publication of the accords that were reached in New York. The groundwork for the political solution has been laid out. Progress continues to be made. Thus, there exists a real possibility for a fair, dignified, and honorable solution for all sides that will include security for Angola and the independence of Namibia. [applause]

On the basis of this comprehensive solution, in common accord, Cuba and Angola will be ready in practice to effect a gradual and total withdrawal of the Cuban contingent of internationalist forces, if the agreement is fulfilled, if the agreement is reached, if the agreement is signed. [applause] This withdrawal cannot be abrupt. A minimum of time is required so that the Angolans can take over the areas, facilities, positions that we are defending.

Nevertheless, based on the principles and points included in the agreement, our military presence would no longer be necessary in Angola. We are working seriously and we will strictly observe our part of the agreement.

Fourteen years have elapsed. Thirteen years—1975-1988—13 years will have elapsed with a demonstration of firmness and tenacity in the fulfillment of an honorable mission. It was possible not because of our party's merits, but because of the merits of our people. So much loyalty, so much will, can only be possible when you have a people like ours.

So when the time comes to consider our missions accomplished, we will happily welcome back our combatants; we will happily welcome back the builders of fortifications and military bases. We will happily welcome back that hard-fighting army when they return to the homeland. We will

happily welcome back the tens and tens and tens [repeats himself] of thousands of men who will join this other colossal battle, the battle for our country's development, the battle to make our revolution stronger. [applause]

Perhaps what is most salient in these past years is that they were difficult years. They were years when big efforts were necessary to strengthen the country's defense. It was necessary to conceive and organize the strategy of the war of all the people. Maybe no one ever thought that a country as threatened as Cuba could remain true to the discharge of its internationalist obligations. Perhaps no one ever thought that a country as threatened as Cuba could be capable of sending the combat equipment it sent to Angola. Many of our anti-aircraft weapons are over there, our most modern anti-aircraft weapons.

Why were we able to do it? Why could we send tens of thousands of combatants? Hundreds of tanks, cannons, etc.? Why? Because we had the people. Because the concept of the war of all the people makes us very strong. Because the country's defense is the task of all the people. Only a people with this spirit, with those concepts, were capable of achieving the feat of remaining faithful to those commitments and of sending the reinforcements that they did without fears and without hesitation. If imperialism opportunistically had wanted to take advantage of the situation for an attack on our country, it would have encountered our people and would have experienced a Bay of Pigs, 2 Bays of Pigs, 3 Bays of Pigs, 100 Bays of Pigs, I am sure. [applause]

This is what I can tell you. Our duty from this podium on this 35th anniversary is not to arouse passions. We must be careful, we must not boast, we must not use triumphalist language. We are convinced that we are walking the correct road to peace but we will be alert, we will be strong, and we will continue to strengthen ourselves up to the exact moment when the negotiated solution for peace is signed. [applause]

I ask the Santiago residents to forge ahead, to keep working as they have been working. The 30th anniversary of the triumph of the revolution awaits us. The fourth congress awaits us. Let Santiago be a worthy city and create the atmosphere, the optimistic spirit, and the fervor that must pervade this fourth congress, in which we will be able to acknowledge fully the rectification that we are making today and the progress we will achieve. I think it would be difficult to find a better audience, a better city, greater zeal, and higher spirit for a better congress, which will be attended by delegates from all revolutionary, Marxist, socialist, progressive, and democratic organizations of the world. We have already worked intensely in the construction of a theater and a hotel. This theater will be one of the country's best. The hotel will later be destined for use by local and international tourists and will become one of the country's best. And these will not be the only projects. There are many more. Some have been reported, others are still in the planning stage. I am sure there will be surprises. There will

be more projects than those that have been listed. I am sure the country will make the greatest efforts to cooperate with Santiago to prepare for this historic event, which will honor not only Santiago, which shares with us the honor of being the scene for that struggle, but the other eastern provinces as well, those that previously formed a single province. This honor will be for the whole country.

Companeros and companeras of Santiago: It was not by mere chance that the eastern provinces were selected as the scene for the start of the last struggle for the liberation of the homeland. The first war of independence started in the eastern provinces. That insurmountable heroic feat that was the Guaragua protest started in the eastern provinces. The second war of independence, the so-called little war, started in the eastern provinces. The third war of independence started in the eastern provinces. The blood of Jose Marti was shed in the eastern provinces.

Our people have fought countless battles in these provinces throughout our history. The last struggle to free our homeland started in the eastern provinces on 26 July. The "Granma," the Sierra Maestra campaign, and the second eastern front all originated from in the eastern provinces. The glorious columns of Camilo and Che came out of the eastern provinces toward the island's center and west. [applause]. We are proud that today's new generation of eastern provinces is preparing the homeland for defense and for fulfilling historic internationalist missions. More than 6,000 Santiago-born people are fulfilling international missions and more than 24,000 sons of the eastern provinces are on internationalist missions, most of them on the southern front in Angola. [applause]

These are the fruits of Moncada. These are the wonderful young people of the new generation who today repeat and reenact Moncada, the 30th of November, the "Granma," the struggle in the Sierras, 1 January, 10 October, and 24 February. They are the first. We hope that for the honor of both Cuba and our people, they can continue to be in the vanguard of our struggle for freedom, justice, and socialism. Fatherland or death, we will win! [applause]

Heng Samrin Decorates Castro; Departs
FL2707234888 Havana Radio Rebelde Network
in Spanish 2300 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, first secretary of the PCC Central Committee, received this afternoon in Santiago de Cuba the Angkor Order, highest distinction awarded by the Cambodian state to world personalities. Heng Samrin, secretary general of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and chairman of the Council of State of that country, pinned on Fidel's chest the order conferred because of his contribution to the struggle of the brother Asian country and the fraternal material and moral assistance given to his revolution.

I receive with great honor this order and I will always feel committed to the just and heroic cause of the Cambodian struggle, said Fidel. I thank you very much, he added.

Shortly after, the two leaders signed a friendship and cooperation treaty between Cuba and Cambodia for the development of solidarity, fraternal friendship, cooperation, and mutual aid. The document notes that economic and scientific-technical cooperation will continue to strengthen and broaden, as well as cooperation in culture, education, communications media, health, and sports and also the types of cooperation between state and mass organizations will continue to improve.

Moments later, Fidel and Cuban party and state leaders officially saw off Heng Samrin and his entourage, who had been paying an official and friendly visit to our country since 20 July. At Santiago de Cuba's Antonio Maceo International Airport, the two leaders reviewed Eastern Army troops and later greeted top political, state, and mass organization officials of the province. Hundreds of Santiago de Cuba people gathered at the air terminal and gave a warm farewell to Heng Samrin, who was guest of honor to the activities marking the 35th anniversary of the Moncada Barracks attack.

Haiti

Opposition Government in Exile Formed *FL2707220688 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in Creole 1600 GMT 27 Jul 88*

[Text] Nicolas Estiverne has formed a Haitian Government in exile. The opposition leader, who was exiled by the CNG [National Government Council] at the beginning of 1987 for meddling in internal Haitian affairs—Mr Estiverne holds U.S. citizenship—has announced that a Haitian Government has been formed overseas with him as president. The 12-member government will serve as an alternative to the current military government. Its objective is to hold free and democratic elections in Haiti Mr Estiverne says.

Here is Nicolas Estiverne.

[Begin recording of Estiverne speaking in Creole] I want to inform you today that a civilian Haitian government has been formed abroad. It was formed on 8 July 1988 in New York. It is made up of myself, Nicolas Estiverne, as president. The vice president is (Emmanuel Marcelus). (Jude Deslandes) is chief of national security. (Yves Gelin) is the assistant secretary of state for foreign affairs.

The government has three ministers in Haiti, whose names we cannot reveal right now, and three other ministers in Montreal, Canada. We cannot give their names either because if we reveal these people's names, they might encounter problems.

I must tell you that this government was created in exile and that it has a single goal: to hold free and democratic elections in Haiti. It has no other goal. It is a provisional government. As soon as elections are over and a government has been democratically and freely elected, this government will resign outright.

I would like to add that no member of this government may be a candidate to any office whatsoever. As you know, I am a former presidential candidate. Therefore, I, myself, am no longer a candidate. The minute we are through holding free and democratic elections, we will all resign and return to private life.

So I ask you, people of Haiti, to support this government—this civilian Haitian Government that is presently in exile—in the hopes that with the help of you people in Haiti, this government can come and hold free and democratic elections in Haiti.

We already have the support of many foreign countries. They have sent us letters. We have the support of the U.S. Congress. However, we do not have the support of the Reagan administration.

Now it is up to you, Haitian people, to rise up and recognize the civilian Haitian Government in exile. [end recording]

Nicolas Estiverne, who is an American lawyer of Haitian extraction, had in early July expressed the conviction that his government would be represented in certain international organizations and recognized by certain foreign governments, among them those of Africa.

We remind listeners that the CNG expelled Nicolas Estiverne in early 1987 for meddling in internal Haitian affairs.

Groups To Mark U.S. Occupation Anniversary *FL2707205588 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1600 GMT 26 Jul 88*

[Text] Several associations have announced their intentions to commemorate 28 July, the date on which the Americans occupied Haiti, with a mass at Saint Jean Bosco church on the Grande Rue. The mass will be at 1600 on Thursday, 28 July, and will be followed by a meeting, also at Saint Jean Bosco, at which Manno Charlemagne will perform.

The religious ceremony and the meeting will be organized at the initiative of the CATH [Autonomous Organization of Haitian Workers], LAPPH [League of Former Haitian Political Prisoners], the APN [People's National Assembly], Feneh [National Federation of Haitian Students], the JEB [expansion unknown], IEP [Union of Port-au-Prince Students], ZEL [Students Affairs], Groupe 23 Bac [committee made up of student representatives from 23 schools in Port-au-Prince], SAJ [Solidarity Among Youth], and [Konbit] Veye Yo ["Keep An Eye on Them" Cooperation Group].

Rally Protesting Maneuvers Held

*FL2707213788 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network
in Creole 1100 GMT 27 Jul 88*

[Text] Next 28 July will be the 73d anniversary of the American occupation of Haiti. On that occasion, several organizations—such as CATH [Autonomous Organization of Haitian Workers], LAPPH [League of Former Haitian Political Prisoners], APN [People's National Assembly], Feneh [National Federation of Haitian Students], AJEB [expansion unknown], IEP [Union of Port-au-Prince Students], ZEL [Students Affairs], Comite 23 [group of student representatives from 23 schools in Port-au-Prince], SAJ [Solidarity Among Youth], and [Konbit] Veye Yo ["Keep An Eye On Them" Cooperation Group]—are going to organize a religious ceremony and a rally on Thursday 28 July at 1600 at Saint Jean Bosco church.

This rally is to denounce the maneuvers of American imperialism, which is doing everything it can to crush the Haitian people's struggle to establish democracy in Haiti.

Here is what the press release says: The Americans have been wreaking havoc in Haiti for the past 73 years. In the same way that Jesus rose up against Roman imperialism in Palestine, and in Nicaragua the popular church in the name of their faith denounced American imperialism, in Haiti, all nationalistic Christians who wish to remain faithful to the work of Jesus Christ have decided to rise up against American imperialism.

That is why all Christians in the people's church have decided to renew their fidelity to Jesus like the Christians of Nicaragua, on 28 July 1988 at 1600, during a

religious celebration at Saint Jean Bosco church in La Saline [section of Port-au-Prince near U.S. Embassy].

Following the religious ceremony, these popular organizations will hold a big rally at which dedicated artist Manno Charlemagne and many others will get together to denounce the maneuvers that American imperialism is continuing to carry out—just like it did on 28 July 1915—to crush the struggle of the Haitian people.

Information Ministry on Namphy's Donations

*FL2707210388 Port-au-Prince Radio Nationale
in Creole 1300 GMT 26 Jul 88*

[Text] The Ministry of Information and Coordination reports that on Sunday, 24 July 1988, a celebration was organized in FERMATHE by the community to honor its patron, Saint Jacques. A large solemn mass was held and was followed by a procession. The Reverend Father (Yvon Massac) celebrated the mass and in his homily, the FERMATHE parish priest discussed the community's situation and stressed the need for participation and a spirit of mutual cooperation in order to be able to place the area on the path to development.

Father (Massac) should have taken advantage of the occasion to seize the opportunity to thank all those who have made donations—such as Lieutenant General Henri Namphy, president of the military government of the Republic for his personal contribution of money.

That was a press release from the office of the director of information in the Ministry of Information and Coordination.

Nicaragua

D'Escoto Condemns Renewed Contra Aid

PA2807032988 Managua Domestic Service in Spanish
0026 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Speech by Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto in ceremony honoring three Nicaraguan artists at the Cesar Augusto Silva Convention Center in Managua—live]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In these difficult moments, each Nicaraguan and each inch of our fatherland feels one way or another the consequences of the criminal and genocidal policy of the Reagan administration. In these difficult moments, the heroism of the Nicaraguan people, who are determined to defend their independence and identity, shakes the conscience of all honest men in the most remote corners of the world.

We are on the eve of a new U.S. congressional vote on the so-called aid to the contra mercenaries, money to murder Nicaraguans and destroy Nicaragua. These funds for crime have been submitted to the vote of those who, instead of acting as members of a legislative body, sometimes act like a congress of imperialist butchers with the right to pardon lives or to order the death of those who, refusing to act like sheep, defend their independence and sovereignty.

Despite the many serious problems provoked by the foreign aggression, our revolutionary government presently continues determined to deepen the democratic and democratizing process begun on 19 July 1979. This process could only have begun after gaining independence from the Yankee empire, tyrant of those who aspire to achieve freedom and independence to build a real democracy of and for the people.

Even THE NEW YORK TIMES admits that in Nicaragua, the communications media presently represents a much broader range of political pluralism than exists in any other Central American country, including Costa Rica. Despite the existence of political pluralism, because of simply enforcing the law regarding a despicable (?incident) financed and directed by the assassins of the Nicaraguan people, there are some who subserviently say there is no press freedom in Nicaragua and, therefore, funds must be approved to continue the war. [passage omitted praising the Nicaraguan artists]

Government Announces LA PRENSA Reopening

PA2707190188 Managua Radio Noticias in Spanish
0320 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Communique issued by the Interior Ministry's Public Relations Directorate in Managua on 26 July]

[Text] The Nicaraguan Interior Ministry reports to citizens that the 15-day suspension imposed on LA PRENSA for open violations of the right to freedom of expression—

violations that were detrimental to the public order and the people's interest—has been complied with. Therefore, LA PRENSA may be published as of tomorrow.

During a meeting, LA PRENSA directors were warned against their continuous legal violations. In this regard, the directors were reminded in particular that:

1. Article 67 of the Constitution establishes that the right to report is a social responsibility and will be carried out with strict respect for constitutional principles. This right cannot be subject to censorship but rather subject to responsibilities subsequently specified in the law.

2. Article 68 of the Constitution establishes that the media are at the service of the national interest.

3. Article 13 paragraph 5 of the Inter-American Convention on Human Rights—or the San Jose Pact—which is part of our national laws, stipulates that all propaganda favoring war and all praise for national hatred that encourages violence or any other illegal action are forbidden by the law.

4. Article 3 subparagraph E of the Media Law establishes a ban on the publication of information that defends or praises leaders whose successes depend on the evasion of laws and disrespect for established institutions; subparagraph H establishes a similar ban on publications involved in common crimes; and subparagraph K establishes a ban on publications that endanger or openly attack the country's internal security or the national defense.

5. Article 42 of the Media Law establishes that noncompliance with the aforementioned Article 3 of the Media Law constitutes a violation of the law. In addition, Article 46 of the aforementioned regulation establishes that a repetition of these violations could result in a temporary suspension for a period of time to be determined by the relevant authorities, or it could result in the permanent closing [of a particular media].

Public Relations Directorate Interior Ministry

Bermudez Resigns as Contra Military Commander

PA2707131688 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish
1200 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Washington—Colonel Enrique Bermudez officially resigned as military commander of the mercenary forces, and the leadership [of the Nicaraguan Resistance, RN] has decided to eliminate the position of commanding general of the contra-Ortega [as heard] hordes.

Bermudez explained that he resigned from his military post following his election as a member of the RN Directorate last week in the Dominican Republic.

The announcement was made last night in a communique issued in the United States by the new contra directorate at the end of a meeting with State Department officials.

Contra Leaders Discuss Future Plans, Cease-Fire
PA2707201888 San Jose Radio Impacto in Spanish
1845 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Report on news conference held by members of the Nicaraguan Resistance in Washington, D.C., on 27 July; passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] The members of the Nicaraguan Resistance [RN] directorate held a news conference today in Washington, where they outlined what they plan to do and the various duties of their new directors.

Asked about his participation in the RN, Wycliff Diego, of the Indian Movement of the Atlantic Coast, said the following:

[Diego] "The Indians on the Atlantic Coast [words indistinct] political and military participation. [words indistinct] We support national liberation."

[Reporter] [Words indistinct]

[Diego] "I hope the Sandinists will act with good faith to bring about a political solution in Nicaragua. We on the Nicaraguan Atlantic Coast hope the Sandinists will change their position or their form of government."

For his part, Adolfo Calero, who is now in charge of international relations on the contra directorate, said the following in response to a question about what he would do if no aid is received.

[Calero] "Well, without aid, we would face difficulties. We know that we would be facing difficulties, so we hope that adequate aid is provided. We have declared an indefinite cease-fire, an indefinite truce. We will maintain that position and we will not resume operations."

EPS Kills 18 Contras in 21-23 Jul Battles
PA2707180288 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish
26 Jul 88 p 5

[Text] The Defense Ministry announced last night that 18 counterrevolutionaries who violated the cease-fire by attacking Sandinist troops were killed in the past few days.

A Defense Ministry bulletin reports that in just one operation on 23 July at La Pintada, southeast of Muelle de los Bueyes, the authorities seized a large amount of guerrilla equipment, including 14 backpacks, 7 hammocks, 4 belts, 4 AK rifles, and 40 cartridge belts.

Ten mercenaries were killed in that operation.

On 22 July, two mercenaries were killed when they attacked an EPS patrol northeast of Abisinia. One AK rifle was seized.

On 23 July, contra groups attacked Sandinist troops in the Cedro Bonito area, located southeast of La Batea, Chontales Department. Six counterrevolutionaries were killed and AK and FAL rifles were seized.

On 21 July, mercenary groups kidnapped three peasants in Las Canas, located northeast of San Juan de Rio Coco, Nueva Segovia Department.

On the same day, counterrevolutionary groups stormed the town of Orinoco, in the South Atlantic Autonomous Region, where they kidnapped three peasants.

On 23 July, a group of mercenaries intercepted a privately owned boat named "Teresita" on the Kukarawala River, southwest of El Tortuguero, in the South Atlantic Autonomous Region, and kidnapped the peasant Ricardo Lopez.

On 23 July, in the town of Rio Blanco, Matagalpa Department, two contras turned themselves in.

25-26 July Actions

PA2807042388 Managua Domestic Service in Spanish
1810 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] A counterrevolutionary was killed and 13 others surrendered during a clash in the place known as El Guayabo hill, northwest of Puerto Viejo, Matagalpa Department, on 26 July.

That same day, counterrevolutionaries kidnapped peasants Santos Otilio Castro, 28, and Gregorio Otilio Lopez, 39, in Cerro Buenavista, northwest of San Juan del Rio Coco, Nueva Segovia Department.

The Defense Ministry also reports that on 25 July, the counterrevolutionaries staged a harassment attack on El Juste cooperative, east of Juigalpa, Chontales Department. They kidnapped one peasant.

Panama

Ritter on Reported U.S. Plans To Oust Noriega
PA2807001388 Panama City Televisora Nacional
in Spanish 2320 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Interview with Foreign Minister Jorge Eduardo Ritter by Joaquin Maison in Panama City on 27 July—recorded]

[Text] [Ritter] THE WASHINGTON POST this morning published a report saying that U.S. Government sources have stated that further actions by the U.S. Government to produce the departure of General Noriega are imminent. The same news source also mentioned the possibility of paramilitary actions, including

kidnapping. I am really concerned and angry as a Latin American and a Panamanian that there is such bold-faced and impudent talk about terrorist actions by states, in this case, the United States. This comes at a time when the world's countries are meeting to condemn acts of terrorism and when, just a few days ago, the U.S. Government stated that it does not negotiate with terrorists. The U.S. Government is the one that from its highest sectors is promoting terrorist acts, such as kidnapping and paramilitary action in Panama. When this was initially proposed, U.S. military men and the Pentagon pointed out that such an action could not be justified by any law, and they expressed their opposition to it. Today there is once again talk about such a paramilitary action. I think this is a disgrace for the United States. The fact that a country assumes the right to kidnap or to undertake paramilitary actions in another country is an intolerable situation for Latin America. If the United States wants to commit terrorist actions, it has a very vast territory in which to do so. But I repeat, it is intolerable for it to do so against leaders of other countries and in the territory of other nations.

[Maison] Will the Foreign Ministry lodge a protest with the U.S. Embassy in Panama?

[Ritter] We will report this situation to the leaders of all the countries with which we have relations, and we will also file the appropriate protest at the United Nations and the OAS.

Information System Communique on Covert Actions
PA2807034688 Buenos Aires REUTER in Spanish
0312 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Report by Catherine King]

[Excerpts] Panama City, 28 Jul (REUTER)—Panama stated today that President Ronald Reagan's authorization to undertake covert operations against military leader Manuel Noriega is a sign that Washington's "policy of aggression" has failed.

A communique from the government's National Information System stated that "today it is clear that the failure of the aggression against Panama is part of the deterioration of the Reagan administration's interventionist and aggressive policy against Central America." [passage omitted]

"The new covert operations with which the U.S. Government is trying to encourage the Panamanian turncoats are not enough to conceal all the immorality and demagoguery of the aggression against our country," the communique stated. [passage omitted]

The report from Washington seemed to take most Panamanians by surprise.

Spokesmen of the government and the Armed Forces refused to make any comments. [passage omitted]

Article Says No Drug Evidence Against Noriega

PA2707170088 [Editorial Report] Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish in its 27 July issue published on pages 1 and B-9 under the heading "There Is No Evidence Against Noriega", an approximately 1,100-word report attributed to PANAPRESS. It states that there has "never been any conclusive evidence against General Manuel Antonio Noriega with regard to the drug trafficking charges made by the United States." The report adds that a summary of the minutes of a Senate subcommittee session on international terrorist and narcotics operations shows that "on the contrary, Noriega has always been of key assistance to the DEA in its antidrug struggle."

The report continues with a paraphrased transcript of a session in which DEA administrator, John Lawn, answered questions by subcommittee chairman Senator John Kerry, which confirms, the report maintains, that "there is no proof that General Manuel Antonio Noriega was involved in the crime for which he was prosecuted by a Florida court."

Television Reports on Delvalle, Reagan Meeting
PA2707151188 Panama City Circuito RPC Television
in Spanish 2300 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] During a visit to the United States from 10 to 19 July, Panamanian businessman Eric Arturo Delvalle met for talks with U.S. Government officials, including President Ronald Reagan, according to a report issued in Washington by ANSA.

ANSA based its information on a news item published by THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, which seems to be the first report of contacts between Delvalle and President Reagan, although the news item does not indicate whether the two men talked face-to-face or over the telephone.

According to ANSA, Delvalle traveled to the United States for a medical checkup, and to take care of some family matters.

Legislative Assembly Lacks Funds To Operate
PA2807034988 Panama City Circuito RPC Television
in Spanish 2300 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Interview with Legislative Assembly President Alberto Aleman Boyd by unidentified reporters; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Aleman Boyd] Today I must point out that if within the next 48 hours we cannot solve this economic crisis, which the Legislative Assembly—first body of the Panamanian Government that was constitutionally established—is currently going through, we will not hold special sessions.

This Legislative Assembly does not live off the air. We cannot operate if we do not have the necessary support to face the great national responsibilities the Legislative Assembly has.

[Reporter] Mr President, does this mean the legislative body has broken ties with the executive body [words indistinct] to collect the amount of money you need to operate?

[Aleman Boyd] No, it does not mean we are breaking up. We are just getting their attention. We must point out that the Constitution specifies that we are an independent body. The Legislative Assembly is an independent body, and it has the legal capacity to express its own views independently.

[Reporter] What are the political consequences of this attitude?

[Aleman Boyd] If the Legislative Assembly does not get the necessary economic support, it will not operate.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] yesterday the comptroller general announced there was no money, not even to pay the 13th-month bonus—and that is an acquired right.

[Aleman Boyd] Then we would have to close down all government institutions.

[Reporter] So there will not be any special sessions on Monday?

[Aleman Boyd] There will not be special sessions if the Legislative Assembly does not have the money to operate.

Government Unable To Pay Public Workers' Bonuses
PA2807032288 Panama City Telemetro Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] Only 20 days before the scheduled day for payment of the second installment of the 13th-month bonus to public employees, hopes were shattered by an announcement from the comptroller general's office. Many sectors in the country are reacting to this hot issue.

A few hours ago Comptroller General Francisco Rodriguez said that the government cannot pay the second installment of the 13th-month bonus, which amounts to more than \$18 million and was scheduled to be paid on 15 August.

This announcement comes days after diverse economic and political sectors called attention, via this newscast, to the difficult economic situation in this country, which could affect compliance with this commitment:

[Rodriguez] "We can only pay if August tax collections surpass our estimates; however, as far as we know, we must be responsible enough to say that, in our opinion—the government's that is—the public sector cannot pay the second installment of the 13th-month bonus."

The 13th-month bonus is an achievement incentive for the workers set forth in Executive Decree 221 of 18 November 1971. It was established to ensure that workers would share additional revenues of the business and public sectors. The Labor Ministry, which is headed by Minister Cesar Martans, has been warning the private sector that it should pay the second installment of the 13th-month bonus through diverse alternative means, but that it should respect this achievement:

[Martans] "The Labor Ministry confirms that businesses are obliged to pay the second installment of the 13th-month bonus."

For the private sector, 13th-month bonus payments total more than \$28 million. As of this moment, according to Alberto Boyd, president of the National Council of Private Enterprise [CONEP], businessmen will comply with this commitment:

[Boyd] "In fact, if we want justice to be served in this country, we must comply with the law. The private sector will pay the 13th-month bonus, which is a right to all workers."

Public sector labor unions have reacted in various ways to the comptroller general's announcement. Up to a few days ago, government authorities had expressed their intentions to comply with the payment of the 13th-month bonus. The reality, however, is different.

Magistrate Criticizes Jailing of Journalist
PA2807044488 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2307 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Excerpt] Panama City, 27 Jul (ACAN-EFE)—[Passage omitted] Homero Londono—a radio announcer who worked as a correspondent for the Costa Rican Radio Impacto, VOA, and Radio Cubanísima of the United States—was arrested last Friday.

Today Rogelio Cruz, his lawyer, told ACAN-EFE that Londono has been charged by the authorities with crimes "against the internal security of the state," against the national "economy," and of working illegally, inasmuch as he is not registered as a foreign correspondent with the government and Justice Ministry.

According to Cruz, Londono might be imprisoned for 1 to 2 years on the first and third charges, while there is a possibility he might have to serve 3 years in jail on the charge of acting against the interests of the state economy.

The Supreme Court of Justice has denied a writ of amparo submitted on his behalf. Of the twelve magistrates of the court, only one voted in favor of granting the writ, on grounds that "he could not conceive that in a legal state—if there is one in our country—a citizen can be deprived of his freedom merely because he had political pamphlets and tape recordings of interviews with opposition politicians."

According to Rodrigo Molina, the magistrate who voted in favor of the writ of amparo, the evidence against Londono was "prejudiced," and his arrest violates several articles of the Panamanian Constitution.

Cruz said that Homero Londono was interrogated on Friday by the judicial authorities without the assistance of a lawyer, and—according to a document signed by him—in his statements, he admitted to having created disinformation in his reports that were sent abroad.

Homero was asked, among other questions, the "names of his journalist colleagues who engaged in distorting the news in Panama," and to reveal "what the Costa Rican Foreign Minister (Rodrigo Madrigal) came to do in Panama" during his recent visit, according to a document published today by the pro-government afternoon newspaper, LA REPUBLICA.

According to the document, Homero Londono was interrogated about his "contact" (civilian or military officer) in the U.S. Southern Command, about a clandestine radio station that allegedly operates in this country, and about some "alleged Cubans" who are in Panama and "who say they are supporting the Defense Forces."

He was asked where "he thinks" former President Eric Arturo Delvalle is, and about the "instructions" he received concerning the "arrival in Central America" of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. [passage omitted]

Argentina

Finance Secretary, Bank President Leave for U.S.
PY2807222288 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish
0112 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Buenos Aires, 27 Jul (TELAM)—Finance Secretary Mario Brodersohn and Central Bank President Jose Luis Machinea departed tonight for the United States to continue with the negotiations pertaining to the financing of the foreign debt for the rest of this year and 1989.

In remarks made at Ezeiza Airport just before departing, both Brodersohn and Machinea preferred to express caution and prudence regarding the possibility of an agreement. They stated that they will provide more information when they return to the country.

Seeking IMF Agreement
PY2707142488 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS
ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1150 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Buenos Aires, 27 Jul (NA)—Last night Central Bank President Jose Luis Machinea left unexpectedly for Washington to conclude an agreement with the IMF that will allow the disbursement of the last \$450-million loan parcel granted by the IMF last year. This new agreement also provides for a new \$1.2 billion "stand-by" [preceding word in English] loan.

According to Central Bank sources, negotiations with the IMF are reportedly "very advanced," and the agreement reportedly focuses on Argentina's fulfillment of some fiscal and monetary adjustments aimed at reducing inflation considerably.

In this regard, Argentine economic authorities have predicted that the price increase index will reach 19 percent by August, and that it will begin a gradual decrease and reach 9.5 percent in December. The IMF, however, has proposed a similar scale, although slightly lower, starting with an 18-percent index in August dropping to 9.5 percent in December.

The agreement with the IMF is essential not only for obtaining a new "stand-by" loan, but also for negotiating with private creditor banks the possibility of other loans. These private organizations demand, as a prerequisite, a previous agreement with the IMF.

Bank sources believe that if no problems are encountered, the creditor banks and Argentina may reach an agreement within a couple of months, this would allow new "fresh" funds into the country by the beginning of (?next year).

Defense Minister on U.S., Defense, Falklands
PY2707213888 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS
ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1920 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Chamental, La Rioja, 27 Jul (NA)—Today Defense Minister Horacio Jaunarena said that the Argentine Foreign Ministry does not rule out a formal declaration calling for the cessation of hostilities. He was referring to the upcoming negotiations with Great Britain on the Malvinas Islands. Regarding Argentina's military training and defense equipment, he said that Argentina "is well protected."

Concerning relations with the United States, Jaunarena said that he will travel to Washington "before the end of the year" to continue talks on resupplying the Armed Forces, although he made it clear that "no spectacular announcements should be expected."

The minister made these remarks during an aeronautical show in Chamental sponsored by the Air Force and the "Quimar" company.

Asked about the level of military training and equipment for an armed confrontation, the minister said that "Our defense needs have been appropriately met and we are well protected."

Concerning the compulsory military service, Jaunarena said that "The defense law that has already been sanctioned includes regulations on the subject," alluding to the fact that his ministry has begun studying ways to alternate compulsory military service with voluntary service.

Concerning the Malvinas case that is now being considered by the courts, Jaunarena said that "It is a time of expectation for the Armed Forces and for the entire society."

He added: "It is the right time for learning about the political responsibilities and behavior of our men, and their heroic actions. Military actions—unlike political actions—cannot be judged by regular courts."

Concerning the Malvinas issue, Jaunarena said that "in the process of negotiations with the British, the Foreign Ministry has not ruled out the possibility of a formal declaration calling for a cessation of hostilities."

The minister reiterated that this diplomatic step should be met with a similar attitude from London because a formal declaration on one side without a corresponding action from the other side has no political value in the talks.

As for the bilateral military situation with the United States, the minister said that "We are at a stage of normalization in our relations; we are different countries with our own particular interests."

Asked about the possible approval of an amnesty law, the minister replied that "They are mere reports, and I can give no opinion on them."

As for the privatization plan for his sector, Jaunarena said that "Private capital can join the production for defense."

In this regard, he said that the Argentine-made "Pampa IA 63" plane "has performed well in the tests executed by U.S. pilots, but making the sale is not easy."

Recognition of PCA Withdrawn in La Pampa
PY2707195288 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS
ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1430 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Excerpt] Buenos Aires, 27 Jun (NA)—The Supreme Court has confirmed that legal and political recognition of the Communist Party in La Pampa Province has expired because the party did not obtain the minimum number of votes required by the provincial law on political parties in the 1983-87 elections.

The Supreme Court thus rejected the special petition filed by PCA national authorities on behalf of the provincial branch. The court ruled that there was no "arbitrariness" in the decision of La Pampa Province electoral court which argued that its decision was based "exclusively" on provincial law 1176, which regulates the activity of political parties in the province.

The Supreme Court ruled that the petition was out of its jurisdiction in the first place because the plaintiff "did not question the constitutional validity" of the provincial law. [passage omitted]

Test Flight of Pilotless 'Bigua' Plane Fails
PY2707184088 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS
ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1715 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] La Rioja, 27 Jul (NA)—This morning the launching of the first locally built pilotless war plane [avion de guerra] failed. It was built jointly by a Cordoba enterprise and the Air Force. Another test will be made in the afternoon.

According to military sources, the failure was due to a mechanical failure which prematurely activated the parachute that the "Bigua" plane carries to cushion landings.

The Pucara plane that transported the "Bigua," took off from the "El Chamental" airbase at 1200. When it was 14 km away and at an altitude of 2,000 meters, it dived some 200 meters and launched a missile as if it were a bomb.

However, the "Bigua," instead of beginning a reconnaissance flight of the zone—the specific task for which it was built—did not respond, instead it began falling. The parachute system opened and it landed.

A helicopter immediately left "El Chamental" to recover the 4-meter long plane which is painted orange. The plane will be tested again this afternoon. new test this afternoon.

Brazil

Protest Lodged With GATT Over U.S. Measures
PY2707031088 Brasilia Domestic Service in Portuguese
2200 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Brazil has lodged a protest with the GATT over the U.S. retaliations. The official protest was lodged in Geneva today by the Brazilian representative to the economic negotiations committee.

In a speech to the GATT economic negotiations committee in Geneva, Brazilian Economic Affairs Under Secretary (Rego Bastos) said that the U.S. retaliatory measures will not only harm Brazil, but will also affect the negotiations underway within the GATT, which is being attended by 93 countries. The undersecretary officially lodged the Brazilian protest against the restrictive measures imposed by the U.S. Government, which has already announced in its official gazette, a list of the Brazilian products likely to be affected. The official said that the U.S. Government has violated the international principles and the GATT principles, which were adopted in a 1986 accord.

By presenting the protest to the GATT economic negotiations committee, Brazil has put the U.S. in a position to be internationally scrutinized. The Brazilian Government, however, will be able to lodge a formal protest with the GATT council, which is the appropriate organ, in September, at the end of the organization's summer recess.

Finance Minister Promises No 'Drastic Measures'
PY2707011888 Rio de Janeiro Rede Globo Television
in Portuguese 2255 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Today Finance Minister Mailson da Nobrega returned from a 15-day trip to Europe and the United States. He stressed that the government is not going to take any drastic measures in its fight against inflation.

The minister stated that he is going to continue with the policy of controlling the public deficit and that he is going to make a few decisions pertaining to the collection of taxes.

[Begin da Nobrega recording] We are studying the possibility of changing the tax deadlines, this will not increase the tax burden, but will eliminate the effects that accelerated inflation has on the national treasury's revenue. The states are also studying a similar measure. [end recording]

The minister also said that the government is not contemplating any type of shock measures or any other types of heroic measures to fight inflation. He stated that he has rejected all shock measures attempts for the economy.

Da Nobrega termed the freezing of prices as political suicide.

IMF Approves Adjustment Program

PY2707032388 *Brasilia Domestic Service in Portuguese*
2200 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] The IMF has approved the Brazilian adjustment plan and has authorized a loan for Brazil that will allow the country to normalize its relations with the international financial community.

The approval by the IMF directorate of the Brazilian economic program will guarantee compliance with an accord between Brazil and the IMF whereby the agency should grant a \$1.4-billion loan. This information has been supplied by Finance Minister Mailson da Nobrega, who today returned from an 8-day tour of Europe and the United States. The minister said the government will not hesitate to take measures to reduce the public deficit to 4 percent of the GNP. Attainment of this target, however, might be hindered by the growth of inflation. In this regard, the Federal Revenue Service is already considering the possibility of reducing the tax collecting periods. The minister did not specify whether the measure will affect all taxes or whether it will be applied only in some sectors. He admitted, however, that in the case of the IPI [manufactured product tax], the government sustains substantial losses between the time taxes are collected and the actual receipt of the funds in the treasury coffers. He insisted that the government is not planning to change the inflation calculation method, stressing that it is considering the possibility of controlling utility rate readjustments by forbidding some utilities to increase their rates above the inflation rate. This will help reduce the inflationary trend.

The minister once again ruled out major changes, adding that an economic shock now would amount to economic and political suicide.

Assembly Approves General Terms of Constitution

PY2807020088 *Rio de Janeiro Rede Globo Television*
in Portuguese 2255 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Excerpts] This was another decisive day for the Constituent Assembly. At the second round of voting, 403 members approved the general terms of the draft constitution that was approved during the first round. The voting on controversial issues will take place separately at a later date.

It became obvious at a very early stage that there would be no agreement. Early morning meetings made it clear that the atmosphere was not appropriate for an agreement. The leaders of the PFL, the PDS [Social Democratic Party] and the PTB [Brazilian Labor Party] wanted to debate the most controversial issues of the new constitution, while the PMDB and the other left-wing parties had something else in mind.

[Begin PMDB Deputy Nelson Jobim recording] We will try to make the blocs understand that it is the duty of all Constituent Assembly members to vote on and approve

the overall text of the constitution. This is not the time to deal with whatever problems there may be with the contents of the constitution because these problems have to be handled separately and there are amendments that have to be voted on separately. The main issue now is the constitution itself. [end recording] [passage omitted]

During the second round of voting, the new constitution received 403 votes for, 13 votes against, and 55 abstentions. The plenary meeting was attended by 471 members of the Constituent Assembly. Tomorrow, the Constituent Assembly will begin voting on the amendments that have been submitted for the second round.

Sarney's Reaction to Vote

PY2807032288 *Rio de Janeiro Rede Globo Television*
in Portuguese 2255 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Ronaldo Costa Couto, chief of the presidential civil household, explained President Jose Sarney's reaction to the result of the second round of voting on the new constitution.

[Begin recording] [Costa Couto] President Sarney told me, quote, Whatever I had to tell the nation at large, I told them last night, unquote.

[Unidentified reporter] Is that all he said?

[Costa Couto] Nothing else on the subject.

[Reporter] Mr Minister, this afternoon there were a lot of rumors here in Brasilia about PMDB ministers submitting their resignations. Do you believe in these resignations?

[Costa Couto] What I can tell you is that there is nothing official in this regard. However, President Sarney did say this: He will not ask anyone to remain in his ministry if they want to leave. [end recording]

Army Minister Gives 'Full Support' to Sarney

PY2707235088 *Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese*
27 Jul 88 p 3

[Excerpt] Brasilia—General Jose Ary Lacombe said that Army Minister Leonidas Pires Goncalves has given "full support" to the speech that President Jose Sarney delivered over national radio and television yesterday. Ary Lacombe heads the Army social communication center, the minister's mouthpiece. Ary Lacombe said that:

Pires Goncalves agrees with President Sarney that the approval of some laws by the Constituent Assembly could create chaos in the administration.

Ary Lacombe added that the minister's position, nevertheless, is merely to analyze and observe the political situation, and to decline making any public statement on the current crisis between the executive branch and the Constituent Assembly.

Ary Lacombe added that the minister is concerned about the possibility of a more serious institutional crisis if there is an atmosphere of confrontation between the executive branch and the Constituent Assembly. He made it clear that the Army supports the laws and that, consequently, it has complete respect for the institutions. [passage omitted]

Chile

Industrialist on 'Brutal' U.S. Retaliation

PY2707153188 Santiago LA SEGUNDA in Spanish
20 Jul 88 p 11

[Text] Jose Antonio Plubins, president of the Pharmaceutical Laboratories Industrial Association (ASILFA), said that U.S. protectionist measures to press their case on patents of pharmaceutical products are "brutal warnings."

Plubins said that the warnings "mentioned \$300 to \$350 million in reprisals affecting future Chilean fruits and copper exports."

Plubins made these statements after participating in the 9th annual assembly of the Latin American Pharmaceutical Industry (ALIFAR) in Rio de Janeiro. One of the main items in the assembly's agenda was the issue of patents.

Plubins said the participants decided to maintain a common front and fight the introduction of patents in any of the countries participating in the event.

Plubins added that if Chilean authorities heed to U.S. pressures and approve the introduction of patents, the population will be "greatly hurt" because the price of medicines will increase an average of \$1 to \$2.40.

Plubins said: "If we give up on our policy of refusing the patents initiative, we will be handing our national market out to the monopolic will of foreign enterprises at an obvious cost to health care."

Plubins concluded by saying that the national pharmaceutical industry can guarantee the supply of good quality medicines to the national market at lower prices than products supplied by the multinationals.

Interior Minister on State of Exception

PY2707190088 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish
1700 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Relay from Government house by Graciela Contreras]

[Text] Interior Minister Sergio Fernandez stated that the government will decide when to lift the state of exception. He added that this political decision is perfectly compatible with the plebiscite and that it could happen before or after the plebiscite.

The minister made this state at La Moneda Palace during a brief chat with the media.

[Begin recording] [Fernandez] Regarding the state of exception, about which you are asking, I want to point out that we are constantly discussing this subject and, depending on the situation prevailing throughout the country, we will implement the necessary measures. I want to point out that the plebiscite will have all the necessary guarantees, so that citizens may vote freely and be duly informed. This is one of our main concerns and goals. Consequently we will analyze the situation prevailing throughout the country and implement the necessary measures.

[Unidentified reporter] Minister, does this mean that the government does not believe that this is the appropriate moment as General Matthei stated yesterday?

[Fernandez] No, not at all. We have discussed this issue many times but, as Matthei himself pointed out, it is a political decision that will be taken at the right time and in keeping with the situation prevailing throughout the country. [end recording]

CP's Isunza Comments on Plebiscite, USSR

PM2607110288 Rome AVANTI! in Italian
23 Jul 88 p 14

[Interview with PCCh Directorate member Jaime Isunza Becker by Roberto Villetti; date, place not given]

[Excerpts] Santiago—[Passage omitted] [Villetti] Many political forces have criticized the demonstrations organized by the Communist Party—especially that of 11 July because they say it gave the dictatorship an excuse to invoke the specter of violence. Both Socialist Secretary Nunez and Christian Democratic Party Secretary Martinez have said that such episodes play into Pinochet's hands because they make certain circles afraid. What is the PCCh's reply?

[Isunza] I would say that there seems to be sectors within the Chilean opposition that want to forget the essential fact that there is a dictatorship in Chile—a dictatorship that has been characterized throughout these years by its imposition of violence on Chilean society with every means at its disposal. Violence in Chile is an inherent element of the dictatorship. Without repressive, economic, social, and cultural violence, the dictatorship could never have existed in Chile. Pinochet has never needed any justification for using violence. As long as the dictatorship exists there will be violence in Chile—and not only violence, but also the constant danger that the violence could become more and more acute. The restoration of democracy is precisely essential in surmounting the violent situation that exists in Chile.

[Villetti] So was it right to hold the 11 July demonstration?

[Isunza] What characterized 11 July was not violence, but the opportunity for a sector of society to mobilize—or, rather, the fact that it did so.

[Villetti] Do you mean that in clashes with the police it is necessary to respond with molotov cocktails, to burn buses, and so forth?

[Isunza] It is necessary to respond, in the first instance, by mobilizing the people, the masses. In this mobilization we believe the people are entitled to defend themselves against the dictatorship's repression.

[Villetti] Are molotov cocktails a necessary part of this defense?

[Isunza] This is not the point. During the protests from 1983 through 1989, the level of violence was much higher, but this is not the point. The point is whether or not there are real opportunities in Chile for the sectors hardest hit by the dictatorship's policy to express themselves. Such opportunities do not exist at present. [passage omitted]

[Villetti] Did your party condemn the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia?

[Isunza] No, no. At that time we had solidarity with the Soviet Union.

[Villetti] Did you condemn the coup in Poland?

[Isunza] No, we did not condemn the coup in Poland either.

[Villetti] So there is some difference between the Italian Communist Party [PCI].

[Isunza] Yes, we have always had a broad area of agreement with the Italian Communist Party, but at the same time we have had points of difference.

[Villetti] Were you in agreement with the Soviet Union over Afghanistan too?

[Isunza] In general, we have had differences in foreign policy and especially in the situations regarding the overall development of the capitalist world.

[Villetti] What is the status of your relations with the United States? What kind of relations should exist between Chile and the Americans?

[Isunza] First, we draw a distinction between the American Government and the American people. On the whole we have maintained intensive solidarity with the American people throughout these years. We believe that the principal blame for the coup and the survival of the

dictatorship in Chile lies basically with American imperialists—not only the government but also the multinationals that were the major champions of the military coup. We hope in the future to pursue with the American Government, within the context of a democratic government, a policy of equally based relations, nonintervention, and respect for the Chilean people's will.

[Villetti] What about Europe?

[Isunza] I would say that relations with Europe have intensified steadily over the years and we maintain a very broad range of relations in Europe with all the democratic forces that have solidarity with the Chilean people. We particularly hope that at the time of democratic rebuilding, the European world will display their solidarity in a concrete form. This display will permit the consolidation of democracy during the country's development and aid in finding solutions to most of the acute problems facing the majority of the Chilean people.

[Villetti] What kind of transition does the PCCh envision for Chile and what kind of government coalition do you have in mind for carrying out this transition?

[Isunza] Since 11 September 1973, we have recognized the need for a democratic understanding among all the forces opposed to the dictatorship. At present we are willing to come to an agreement even with forces which, though they took part in the coup d'etat, realize their errors and are now in favor of restoring of democracy. This is the attitude of broad understanding that we have maintained throughout these years and we certainly believe that the best solution for Chile after the dictatorship's defeat (a political defeat through the people's mobilization and a mass struggle)—would be the establishment of a provisional government of broad democratic consensus ranging from the democratic right-wing sectors to ourselves. We would not necessarily have to form part of the government, but we could express our support through a minimum platform that tackles the country's principal problems, both in the civil rights field (the abolition of exile, the release of political prisoners, and fair justice for those guilty of human rights offenses) and the economic field with measures designed to tackle the main problems of the workers and the people as a whole (low wages, unemployment, a different economic policy, the domestic deficit, and more especially, the foreign deficit.) There is a third factor that we consider essential to such a government and that is the need for the country to rebuild its democratic system by the repeal of the 1980 Constitution—that is to convene a constituent assembly to provide Chile with a new constitution and then to call for free and democratic elections to elect a president and parliament on the basis of this new constitution. [passage omitted]